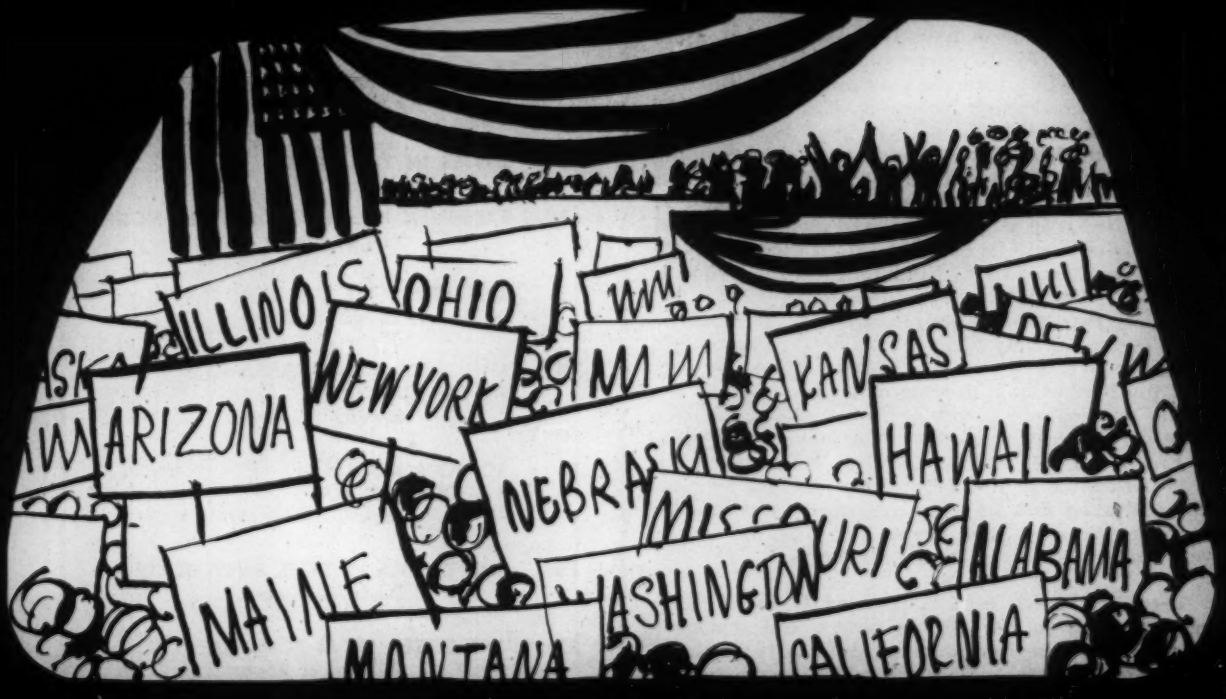


The Democrats' Great Opportunity:

STEVENSON FOR PRESIDENT

An Editorial

Office Memo

"*The Progressive's* series on prospective Presidential candidates," wrote Jack Olson of Oakland, California, "is the most informative—if not the only—series of its kind I have seen. I feel *The Progressive's* campaign coverage will be so valuable I want several of my friends to be sure to see the magazine from now until the election. Here is a list of names. Please enter your special five-months subscriptions, starting with the July number, so the subscription will run through November. Can you do this?"

We can, Mr. Olson, and we will. And because there have been a number of similar requests we are extending the deadline of our special three for $3 offer to the end of July. This will be Campaign Subscription Month at *The Progressive*, and all orders received under our special introductory offer will be entered to cover the five month campaign period of July to November inclusive. Here is the offer and how to take advantage of it:

For every two five-months subscriptions, at home or abroad, entered at only $1.50 each, *The Progressive* will send another one free—three new subscriptions for only $3. All you have to do is to write on a piece of paper the names of three of your friends or acquaintances, libraries, civic leaders, editors, and others who should be reading *The Progressive* and mail to us with $3. If you would like to participate in this cooperative low cost venture, but would prefer that we select the readers, just indicate this when you send your order. You may, of course, have six subscriptions for $6 or nine for $9.

●

There has never been a time when the Reprint Department was so busy filling orders, and seldom a time when we have had so many different reprints in demand. This month another was added to the current list—Governor Robert Meyner's "The Cruel Deception of Civilian Defense," which appeared in the June issue. Single copies are ten cents; three are twenty-five cents; and twenty are a dollar. In quantities of 500 or more, the cost is only three cents each.

Other reprints moving briskly are:

¶ "The Burning Truth in the South," by Martin Luther King (ten cents each, additional copies five cents each).

¶ "The Truth About Nixon," by William V. Shannon (twenty-five cents each, five for one dollar, fifty for five dollars).

¶ "America's Broken Mainspring," by Adlai Stevenson (fifteen cents each, fifteen for one dollar).

¶ "Adlai E. Stevenson: Last Chance," by Richard L. Neuberger (fifteen cents each, fifteen for one dollar).

●

The arrival of the vacation season is bringing the usual flood of changes of address. The Circulation Department has two urgent requests: 1) be sure to send your *old* address as well as the new, and 2) in all correspondence include the postal zone number.

VOLUME 24 NUMBER 7

The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr.

JULY, 1960

EDITOR MORRIS H. RUBIN
ASSOCIATE EDITOR MARY SHERIDAN
ASSOCIATE EDITOR JOHN McGRATH
BUSINESS MANAGER GORDON SINYKIN
OFFICE STAFF ROSE L. REDISKE, HELEN KLEPPE, DOROTHY BEYLER, BETTY HAMRE, ELEANOR WIND

3 **STEVENSON FOR PRESIDENT**
Editorial

5 **NOTES IN THE NEWS**

8 **FRESHMEN FERMENT IN AN OLD HOUSE**
Karl E. Meyer

11 **CHALLENGE TO THE DEMOCRATS**
Joseph S. Clark

14 **INTEGRITY AND INTEGRATION IN THE SUBURBS**
Stanley A. Koven

15 **TODAY'S MODELS—TOMORROW'S JUNK**
Joseph J. Seldin

18 **THE TAMMANY TIGER RUNS SCARED**
David Chalmers

22 **THE LETTER FROM POMONA**
William L. Roper

24 **THE QUIET RUSSIANS**
Harry H. Pollak

26 **THE PEOPLE'S FORUM**

30 **BOOKS**

THE PROGRESSIVE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

THE PROGRESSIVE is published monthly. Copyright 1960 by The Progressive, Inc., 408 West Gorham Street, Madison 3, Wisconsin. Second-class postage paid at Madison, Wisconsin.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICES: U. S. and foreign—One year $5; Two years $9; Three years $12. Trial subscription (for new subscribers only)—Ten months $3.

MANUSCRIPTS: The Progressive cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited articles and letters. None will be returned unless so requested and accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Printed in U.S.A.

PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

Stevenson for President

"It appears this year's campaign will be waged under the darkest shadows that ever hovered over the world—the mushroom clouds of a nuclear war that no one wants. This terrible danger—and how to avert it—will and should overshadow every other issue."

These words, spoken by Adlai Stevenson a few days after the catastrophic collapse at the Summit, reflect the mood of millions of Americans who sense the unprecedented magnitude and urgency of the problems that will confront the next President of the United States.

There will be other campaign issues, of course, some of them of considerable importance, but none will command the attention and concern of an anxious nation so much as the debate on how to meet the world crisis generated by the recent worsening of Soviet-American relations. It is perhaps no exaggeration to suggest that, *given a meaningful choice of candidates and policies*, the people of the United States will be casting the most fateful vote of their lives when they go to the polls in November.

The Republican choice awaits only routine ratification—Richard M. Nixon, and with him, a cheerless continuation of the program, or lack of program, which has carried us to the rim of disaster.

Of the avowed candidates for the Democratic nomination, Senator John F. Kennedy seems to us far and away the most appealing. But we believe that the extraordinary turn of events in the past few months makes it imperative for the Democrats to turn to the man whose creative and courageous stand on the issues of war and peace and whose unrivaled stature in the world clearly mark him as the American best qualified for leadership in a world of crisis and a time for greatness.

That man is Adlai E. Stevenson.

For the past decade Stevenson has roamed the world, talking and listening to peasants and premiers, his brilliant, searching mind ever on the hunt for clearer understanding of the great revolution of our time and for the role America, herself a child of revolution, can play in channeling the new revolution along a hopeful and democratic course. As a consequence, few Americans have a firmer grasp of the world crisis than Adlai Stevenson. Few Americans have a deeper awareness of the nature of the Soviet challenge and how to meet it than Adlai Stevenson. Few Americans, if any, command greater respect and admiration among peoples and leaders everywhere than Adlai Stevenson.

In the realm of domestic affairs no voice in the land has been raised more eloquently than Adlai Stevenson's for the restoration of American government "as a positive instrument for the common weal" and no one has refuted more powerfully those who have sought to equate the Constitutional mandate to provide for the general welfare with "creeping socialism." In speech after speech he has reminded us that we were born "dedicated to a proposition" but have strayed from its goals until today we tend to "confuse the free with the free and easy." He has expressed deepening concern over the "air of disengagement and disinterest that hangs over the most powerful and affluent society the world has ever known." He has called for a vastly more vital effort on the home front—not only because specific ills clamor for treatment and our society generally needs to be sparked out of its sluggishness. He has called for a forward thrust at home also because "if we cannot recover an aspiring, forward-looking, creative attitude to the problems of our own community, there is little hope of our recovering a dynamic leadership in the world at large."

Here is the Democratic Party's best bet and the country's greatest hope. It is a remarkable opportunity that awaits the Democrats in Los Angeles. For in Adlai Stevenson they have not only their ablest and most mature leader; they have the man whose moral courage, progressive principles, and world stature make him the clearest-cut and most affirmative alternative to Nixon and his policies.

The people have sensed more quickly than the politicians that the Democrats must turn to Stevenson as the man best qualified to lead them in the decisive period ahead. A New York *Times* survey in ten major cities, for example, showed a "marked trend toward Adlai Stevenson" as the best man to represent the United States at a post-Eisenhower summit

conference. In city after city, including Boston, where the count incredibly ran seven to one for Stevenson over Kennedy, the *Times* found that "the persistent mention of Stevenson by those who named a Democrat as the best qualified American leader next year was perhaps the clearest single 'straw' to emerge from the informal sampling."

It is significant, too, that the *Times*' random survey came immediately *after* Stevenson had made a series of statements and speeches in which he lashed out at the tragic bungling by the Eisenhower Administration, and, more importantly, dared to buck the winds of hysteria blowing out of Washington by counseling an early resumption of negotiations with the Soviets as the most hopeful road to peace. In the days following the collapse of the Summit conference in Paris, when Washington echoed to the clamor for more billions for armaments, Adlai Stevenson made more sense and showed more courage and statesmanship than any other figure in public life as he sounded his eloquent warning against single-minded reliance on military containment to "stop Communism."

It was characteristic of Stevenson to go to the heart of the matter while some of his Democratic colleagues, notably Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, were demanding a "national unity" which could only mean sweeping the whole sorry mess under the rug. "Premier Khrushchev wrecked the conference at the Summit," Stevenson said. "Let there be no mistake about that. . . . But we handed Khrushchev the crowbar and the sledgehammer to wreck the meeting. Without our series of blunders, Mr. Khrushchev would not have had a pretext for making his impossible demands and wild charges. Let there be no mistake about that either."

Stevenson summed up the Eisenhower Administration's series of blunders in a few simple sentences: "We sent an espionage plane deep into the Soviet Union just before the Summit meeting. Then we denied it. Then we admitted it. And when Mr. Khrushchev gave the President an out by suggesting that he was not responsible for ordering the flight, the President proudly asserted that he was responsible. On top of that we intimated that such espionage flights over Russia would continue. (At this point if Khrushchev did not protest, he would be condoning our right to spy—and how long would he keep his job that way?) Next we evidently reconsidered and called off the espionage flights. But, to compound the incredible, we postponed the announcement that the flights were terminated just long enough to make it seem we were yielding to pressure, but too long to prevent Mr. Khrushchev from reaching the boiling point."

At a time of tension when the cry was great to "stand firm behind the President"—in other words, blame everything on the Russians, admit no error on our part—Stevenson dared risk the charge of appeasement, which was not long in coming, to tell Americans some tough truths about our own shortcomings in the quest for peace. We Americans, he said, for example, have states of mind, as do the Russians, that make negotiation enormously difficult. "I believe that many of our stereotypes about the Russians are mistaken. We regard them as undilutedly ideological and constantly plotting world revolution. I don't think they are—whatever may be their long-term objective of a world safe for Communism."

Speaking as a true patriot, in the best sense of that badly corrupted word, Stevenson warned his countrymen that America's performance in peacemaking is not altogether the bright and shining record they have been misled to believe. It is both sad and ironic, he emphasized, that the Communists have so largely succeeded in preempting and exploiting the cry for peace. They have been able to do this because "we underestimated mankind's yearning for peace. We have emphasized military containment, and for years it appeared that we didn't want to negotiate with the Russians, either to test their intentions or to call their bluff.

"Meanwhile, they stopped nuclear testing unilaterally; they reduced their army unilaterally; they proposed summit talks about reducing tensions and the dangers of war; they proposed total disarmament. Whatever the motives, cynical or sincere, they have constantly taken the initiative. They have answered the cry for peace, while we have quibbled and hesitated and then finally given in. Too often our approach has been 'yes, but' instead of 'why not?' Too often our uncertainty and quibbling have left the impression that the United States is looking for reasons not to reach an agreement."

Stevenson pleaded with the nation not to be stampeded by Republican spokesmen whose frenzied efforts to whitewash the Administration's handling of the U-2 espisode have led them to contend that it is impossible to negotiate with the Russians and that to do so is in the nature of appeasement. To succumb to this position, Stevenson said, "would compound the disaster. We shall have to talk and bargain with the Communist countries for years and years to come."

Americans and Russians alike, he said, have one common enemy. "The enemy is the danger of war. We must defeat the enemy together. Despite his hysterics, Mr. Khrushchev says he still believes in peaceful progress by negotiation. Let us hope he proves it, and let the United States come into the United Nations not content with ordinary speeches, not content with the usual anti-Russian majority votes, but with constructive, positive, affirmative proposals to restore the hope of peace.

"To those who will see nothing but Russian vice and American virtue, to those who will cry appeasement to any acknowledgment of our mistakes, I say that this is the toughest kind of common sense. For there is no future for any of us in a spiraling arms race propelled by mounting suspicion on both sides. The fact that Khrushchev seems to have lost his temper makes it all the more important that we not lose ours—or our heads."

But, Stevenson warned, even if we Americans come to understand the world crisis better than we do, even if our illusions about foreign policy are dispelled, even if we recognized our mistakes, even if fruitful negotiation becomes possible again, "it would not alter for many years the constantly aggressive Communist political activities, especially among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and South America who are seeking a new dignity in the modern world.

"So the question is: How do we live with the aggressive Communists in this revolutionary age without giving in to them or destroying each other in a nuclear war?

"We do not do it by just trying to stop or contain them. We do it by competing with them as strenuously as we can on the economic and political fronts and by demonstrating with action rather than words that our system has more to offer mankind than theirs.

"Instead of always worrying about what the Russians will do next, let us concentrate on what we can do next."

Here, indeed, is the toughest kind of common sense. Here, in these all too meager fragments of Stevenson's recent reflections on the crisis in world affairs, is the solid basis for a new and vastly more creative American foreign policy to replace the duel of diplomatic brinkmanship which has characterized our conduct for so long. Here, too, in Adlai Stevenson's summons to his fellow Americans to seek peace and build a better and more secure nation by understanding our shortcomings and learning from our mistakes, is the truest and most fruitful form of patriotism.

The next President of the United States, we have been told, must be a man who "can stand up to Khrushchev and the Russians." If by this it is meant that our next President must be a man who relies on saber-rattling bluster and bombast and who is committed to responding negatively to every Soviet proposal, Adlai Stevenson is not the man of the moment. But—

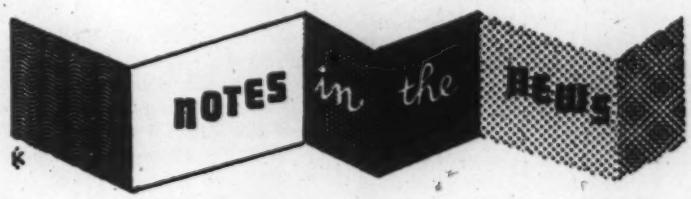
If we are seeking a President who will stand up to the Russians by embarking on full-scale negotiations to test their intentions or call their bluff when they propose peace and disarmament—

If we are searching for a President whose affirmative approach to the problems of peace will no longer permit Khrushchev to continue monopolizing the role of peacemaker and dictating the terms of the world's dialogue—

If we are looking for a President who will stand up to the Russians by resisting, with positive programs, Soviet advances among the uncommitted peoples of the underdeveloped areas of the world who are caught up in a revolution of rising expectations—

If the man we want to stand up to the Russians is one who understands and accepts the Soviet challenge of competitive coexistence and is committed to beating them at their own game—

If this is what we mean when we express the need for a President who will stand up to Khrushchev and the Russians, Adlai Stevenson seems to us the towering choice among all the candidates, professsed or unavowed, in both parties.



Buried Truth

The truth behind the U-2 spy plane affair lies buried in a pathless swamp of confusion, contradictions, and censorship. From the heavily censored testimony taken in secret by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee comes the story of almost unbelievable bungling and lack of coordination in the Eisenhower Administration, but the facts about who did what, why, and when remain lost in lies, evasion, and censorship.

The question that haunts us most is this: Did President Eisenhower know about and approve the flight of the espionage mission over Russia two weeks before the Summit conference was to convene in Paris? The President chose to accept responsibility, but the sworn testimony of his Secretary of State, Christian Herter, and off-the-record disclosures to Washington correspondents throw considerable doubt on the accuracy of Mr. Eisenhower's memory.

The President was confronted with a cruel dilemma. If he accepted direct responsibility for this pre-Summit spy flight, he would be endangering the success of the conference by slamming the door against Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's hopeful and helpful suggestion that the Chief Executive was not personally responsible; if he disclaimed direct involvement, he would be exposing himself to ridicule and censure for not knowing what was going on in his own Administration. Mr. Eisenhower chose the former course, and in doing so handed Khrushchev the dynamite with which to blow up the conference.

Afterwards, in his radio and television address to the nation, the President sought to create the impression that "the question" of the "timing" of the U-2 flight was raised in the Administration and that "the decision" was reached that "the program should not be halted."

Secretary of State Herter sought to corroborate his chief when he appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee but wound up by reversing his story under sharp questioning by Senators William Fulbright and Albert Gore. In his opening statement Herter asserted that "the decision not to suspend this program of flights, as the Summit meeting approached, was a sound decision." This is what followed:

FULBRIGHT: Can you tell us who made the decision and when and of the circumstances?

HERTER: That is a decision that I think has been a decision that has carried over the whole four-year period.

FULBRIGHT: I don't think I made myself clear. This statement seems to leave the implication that a specific decision was taken not to suspend the flights in view of the conference approaching. Was such a decision taken?

HERTER: That I cannot tell you. I was not a party to it.

GORE: Did you participate in a conference or were you aware of a decision? Did you make a decision?

What is the full extent of your knowledge of a decision that the flights would not be discontinued?

HERTER: I know of no conference at which the matter was discussed.

FULBRIGHT: Is it fair to say that no specific decision not to suspend them was taken? They were allowed to go along without any decision being taken to suspend them?

HERTER: I think that is correct.

FULBRIGHT: Therefore, the other way around is that no positive decision was taken not to suspend them, is that correct?

HERTER: That is right.

Here, in the sworn testimony of his Secretary of State, is powerful refutation of President Eisenhower's initial assumption of responsibility and his subsequent report to the nation that the question had been raised and a decision made to go ahead with the spy flights. If Herter is right, no questions were raised, no conferences were held, no decisions were reached. No one, in fact, was in charge, except perhaps the inscrutable and untouchable Central Intelligence Agency.

The terrible significance of Herter's testimony is that President Eisenhower, whether because he feared criticism for neglect of duty, or for whatever reason, claimed responsibility for a decision that had not even been made, and thus made it possible for Khrushchev to torpedo the Summit conference.

Nixon Preview

Despite the conventional nonsense that turns up on its editorial page, the *Wall Street Journal* strikes us as one of the brightest and most useful dailies in the country. Lately we have found it especially helpful for its periodic previews of the strategy and tactics Vice President Richard M. Nixon will pursue in this quest for the Presidency. It seems that the *Journal's* able Washington correspondent, Allan L. Otten, has a private pipeline to the Vice President's inner office and comes away with stacks of inside stuff.

It was on the basis of the *Journal's* reports that Nixon was under great pressure from some friends to lean Left and from others to remain Right that we fell to speculating in this space last month whether the Vice President would campaign as a progressive-conservative or a conservative-progressive. The *Journal* has now provided the answer for us: he will run as a "flexible conservative."

After a briefing with the Nixon team, the *Journal's* Otten confided to his readers that the "flexible" part of the Vice President's "flexible conservatism" will be invoked to "woo independent voters and conservative Democrats." But if this doesn't set too well with the Barry Goldwater school of McKinley Republicanism, Nixon is prepared to cope with the conservatives.

"While rejecting pressures to move up to the Right," we are told, "Mr. Nixon will endeavor to keep G.O.P. conservatives happy through personal contacts." (Presumably, the Vice President will use these private occasions to whisper words of reassurance that the "flexible" stuff isn't to be taken too heavily, but the *Journal,* of course, suggested no such thing. Its story was largely friendly.)

Nixon's greatest need, it seems, is to be "humanized" by the use of skillful stunts in public relations. Thus, we are told that the Vice President and his aides have decided to conduct a great many press conferences because they "believe that such press conferences serve to 'humanize' him." Then, too, "as part of the 'humanizing' effort, Mr. Nixon will continue to appear as an ardent sports fan." Nixon happens to enjoy sports, but this is mostly incidental. When he turns up at a sports spectacle, "he comes into contact with voters who don't otherwise see him [and] his advisers think it helps break the image of a cold, calculating machine."

For those whose interests range beyond sports Nixon has developed, we are informed, "a carefully worked out technique of experience-dropping and name-dropping" which "heightens the Nixon impression of broad background and experiences." Here is how he does it:

"While I am not an expert on U.S. and Soviet educational systems," he said in a speech in Syracuse, "I have been in both countries and have perhaps studied the subject as much as most people." Speaking to a Negro church convention in Buffalo, he recalled that he had already "worked in this cause as chairman of the President's committee on equality in government contracts."

The name-dropping has become a routine operation. "We had dinner in Washington the other day for a very distinguished visitor, the President of France," Nixon confided at an Auburn, N.Y., dinner, "and as we were talking, General De Gaulle gave me his philosophy of old age." At a meeting in New York City, the Vice President said, "I share the view of Chancellor Adenauer, who told me, when visiting my home a few weeks ago . . ." and a few minutes later, "Prime Minister Nehru put it very graphically to me when he said . . ."

These are only a few samples of the contents of Nixon's complete kit for campaigning. Nothing is being overlooked; nothing is being left to chance. Everything is planned and rehearsed, including the extemporaneous speeches. And yet something is wrong. For all the efforts to "humanize" the Vice President, he "still has a long way to go to sell himself to many crucial swing voters," Otten reported. "Recent interviews by *Wall Street Journal* reporters have turned up a surprisingly large residue of 'I don't know why but I just don't like him' feeling. However impressive his performance is, it still has, to many, a mechanical, almost inhuman quality."

So the drive to "humanize" Nixon will be redoubled. The Vice President's mother contributed her bit, in an article in *Good Housekeeping,* when she recalled that as a boy Dick would rinse his mouth carefully each morning and then have her smell his breath to make certain it would not give offense to persons near him on the bus. There will be a lot more of this sort of thing as the "humanizing" goes on.

Ten Per Cent Truth

"Government outlays for support of farm commodities," began a recent Associated Press dispatch, "are expected to run close to a record level of seven billion dollars in the fiscal year ending June 30."

It was not until the ninth paragraph of the story—a paragraph which few newspapers bothered to include in their news columns—that the taxpayer was told how much of these "outlays" represented the true cost of the farm price support program: "The government's loss on

price support operations through April 30 [a ten months' period] totaled $708 million . . ."

As usual, the total amount paid out in loans on and purchases of farm crops was given headline treatment, but the billions which flowed back into the government treasury through sales and repaid loans were either buried deep in the story or, more commonly, totally ignored.

Seven hundred million dollars is not chicken feed, but it is still only ten per cent of the seven billion dollars "spent" on the agricultural price support program. Newspapers and magazines which look with dismay on farm price support payments might compare the cost with their second class postal subsidies, which for the years 1946-1956 totaled $6 billion. Last year's federal subsidy to Henry Luce's *Time-Life* empire approximately equaled its handsome net profits.

News coverage of the farm support program would come closer to the truth if the press recorded the income of the Department of Agriculture as well as its outlays. In this instance, the actual *cost* of the program was only ten per cent of the total paid out.

The Socialists' New Mission

The Socialist Party, which has been withering on the vine since Norman Thomas made his sixth and last Presidential race in 1948, seemed to take on new life at its recent national convention in the nation's capital. After a lengthy debate, the predominantly young delegates mapped out a new mission for the party, resolving to some extent a dispute that has torn the Socialists for a decade.

The convention decided that in this year's election the Socialists will have no candidate for the Presidency for the first time since the party was founded in 1897, with the exception of the 1924 campaign when the Socialists supported the Progressive candidate, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.

But even more noteworthy was the adoption of a policy declaration which sets as the Socialist goal "nothing less than the reevaluation and realignment of all political forces in the United States." Charging that the federal government "has not passed a single major piece of new social legislation since 1938," the declaration placed the blame on the Democratic and Republican Parties alike.

"We find ourselves," the statement read, "with two political parties devoid of any principled political programs. Let labor, the farmers, the Negro people and other minorities, the liberal and peace forces, come together in a party of our own, and let the forces of conservatism and big business, the militarists and the nationalists, the stand-patters, come together in a party of their own."

Without saying so explicitly, the declaration pretty much wrote off the Republican Party, but saw some hope in the Democratic Party—if it rids itself of the racists, the corrupt big-city bosses, the "die-hard cold warriors," and the enemies of labor. Yet the Socialists feel that merely reforming the Democratic Party would not be enough.

"The major parties," said the declaration, "are designed to compete for power, and not to debate the issues. . . . Our political system not only stymies progress, it stifles discussion of program."

The new parties, in the Socialists' view, would be based on programs, one liberal, the other conservative. The Socialists declined to outline a program for the conservatives, but for the liberal party it set goals which included "peace through disarmament, civil rights, expanded federal aid to education, the wiping out of slums, national health insurance, and greatly increased foreign economic aid."

A large faction of the Socialists, led by Norman Thomas, has pressed for many years for a policy that would make the Socialist Party an educational force in American politics, rather than continue to expend energy and money running candidates for office. The convention's action represents a victory, in part, for the Norman Thomas position, but the drive for realignment did not meet with the approval of the party's elder statesman. Thomas would have preferred giving the Socialist program wide circulation, particularly in the labor movement, comparing the platforms of other parties' candidates with Socialist objectives, and acting as a bellwether for the major parties.

The majority felt that new problems called for a new solution, and that it could operate most effectively as a "democratic socialist wing" of a new liberal party.

The Socialist program has a utopian flavor, and yet there is a hopeful precedent for achieving the party's goal. When Norman Thomas declared after the 1948 election that he would not run again, he pointed out that every plank except one in his 1928 platform—his first Presidential race—subsequently had been endorsed not only by the Democrats but by the Republicans.

One-Third of a Nation

"One-third of a nation—ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed"—this was one of the many phrases with which Franklin D. Roosevelt characterized the state of the union a generation ago. Conditions have obviously improved greatly since those dark depression days. But a recently published study of the distribution of wealth in the United States, prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research, reveals that the nation's affluence is not so widespread as we are often told it is.

The poorest one-third of the nation owns only one per cent of the wealth of the United States. Another twenty-three per cent just above on the economic ladder owns five per cent. Thus, substantially more than half of the population owns only six per cent of America's material assets. This group doubtless corresponds to a great extent with the one-half of U.S. taxpayers that, we reported in the January issue, receives annual incomes averaging about $2,000.

In contrast, the richest 1.6 per cent of Americans own nearly one-third of all the nation's wealth. For two decades following the 1929 stock market crash, highly concentrated ownership of wealth declined in favor of a gradual move toward a more equalized distribution. But after 1949 the tide turned, and the trend is once more toward fewer people holding a greater share of the wealth.

The *Wall Street Journal* added a significant footnote to surveys of income distribution when it reported that despite high taxes government figures indicate "more individuals have become millionaires since World War II than in any comparable earlier period."

freshmen ferment in an old house

by KARL E. MEYER

ELEVEN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN —eight of them freshmen—are carving out a new political trail by putting controversy before caution and principle before political survival. This is an historic development in the House of Representatives, where, by musty rule, freshmen are supposed to dwell in silence.

In effect, the first-term Congressmen are saying in public what many of their senior colleagues have long said only in the privacy of the cloakroom. Our present foreign policy, they contend, is sterile and negative, based on the unexamined dogmas of a decade ago. They are urging a new policy which would recognize that Cold War alliances with tyranny may be more of a liability than an asset, and that it may take more than armaments and military pacts to hold allies and influence neutrals. Red China cannot be cured of moral leprosy by permanent isolation, they argue, and there is no reason why the issues of peace and disarmament should be permanently monopolized by Nikita Khrushchev.

This is peppery stuff on Capitol Hill, where the doctrines of former Secretaries of State Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles have held leaders of both parties in bondage for more than a decade. When it is considered that most of the Congressmen expressing these views hold marginal seats and might be forgiven for prudent silence, the daring of the outspoken freshmen may be more than news. It could contain the seeds of healthy dissent that might yield a creative reevaluation of American foreign policy.

For too long, in the eyes of many observers, an unhealthy silence has prevailed on Capitol Hill on key questions of foreign policy. The McCarthy era cast a pall on rational discussion of problems such as China policy. More recently, collaboration between Democratic Congressional leaders and the White House has acted as a damper on dissent. And now, the increased jitters following the collapse of the Summit conference adds heightened risk to uttering unorthodox views.

Nonetheless, Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, chairman of what he and his colleagues call the Liberal Project, decided to release a highly critical paper on present U.S. foreign policy on May 22—less than a week after the Paris debacle. When the Democratic National Convention begins this month, the group plans to provide every delegate with a statement containing platform suggestions. This will be followed, the group hopes, by the fall publication of a book entitled *The Liberal Papers*, outlining in greater detail the project's proposals and enrolling the talents of up to fifty scholars as advisers and contributors.

(The Liberal Project is not to be confused with the Democratic Study Group, another liberal bloc comprising about 120 House members. The Study Group meets at irregular intervals to discuss pending legislation, and does not attempt to formulate general doctrine. Membership in the two groups overlaps, and co-existence is wholly peaceful.)

KARL E. MEYER is an editorial writer on the Washington Post & Times Herald. His articles have appeared in The Reporter, The Nation, and The New Republic.

There is nothing of the "silent generation" in the Liberal Project. Admittedly, members of the group are predominantly young newcomers little known in national politics. But this fact cuts both ways. It is surely of significance that able freshmen are so restive about official homilies that at some hazard they are speaking out for themselves. Progress in politics invariably begins at the fringes and works towards the center, and for this reason the ideas of the freshmen may be of more importance for the future than the predictable pronouncements of the mighty.

The ferment among the freshmen may signify that after a long truce politics is returning to normal and that the opposition party is beginning to resemble just that—an opposition. Nor is it only this handful of young Congressmen who are finding their tongues; the Democratic Advisory Council and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee also have been asking sharp questions about the Summit fiasco.

The chairman and founder of the Liberal Project is a lanky and good-looking attorney from Watertown, Wisconsin. It seems appropriate that Robert Kastenmeier comes from a maverick state and is the first Democrat in a quarter of a century to hold a seat once graced by Robert M. La-Follette, Sr., an insurgent from another era. Along with many of the fifty-six other new Democratic Congressmen, Kastenmeier came to Washington with the conviction that the 1958 elections offered a mandate for a more liberal policy in Congress.

To some old Congressional hands, this seemed an odd, if amiable, notion, but it struck a chord among other freshmen who in floor debate frequently found themselves on the same side. The Project grew out of these encounters and took tentative form in March, 1959.

Besides the thirty-six-year-old Kastenmeier, the other freshmen members of the group are Byron Johnson of Colorado, forty-two, an economist; James O'Hara of Michigan, thirty-four, an attorney; William H. Meyer of Vermont, forty-five, a forester; Clement Miller of California, forty-three, a veterans service officer and landscape consultant; William Moorhead of Pennsylvania, thirty-seven, an attorney; Leonard Wolf of Iowa, thirty-four, a retail feed dealer; and George A. Kasem of California, forty-one, an attorney.

Three senior members round out the group: James Roosevelt of California, who at fifty-two is the patriarch of the Project; Frank Thompson of New Jersey, forty-one; and Charles O. Porter of Oregon, forty-one. Roosevelt and Thompson are three-term Congressmen, while Porter is serving his second term. In addition, freshman Frank Kowalski of Connecticut, George S. McGovern of South Dakota, and Lee Metcalf of Montana are in sympathetic contact with the Project.

There is a significant reason for recording their ages: the average age for the freshmen is thirty-nine, and for the eleven as a whole, less than forty-one. Here are men who grew up in the 1930s, were involved in World War II, and who are heirs of the Roosevelt revolution in domestic and foreign affairs. To this generation, Abilene evokes no nostalgia and the New Deal no horror—and its members feel that it is high time they had a chance to speak out on the mess their elders made.

The eight freshmen are akin in another respect. They hold seats in marginal districts where a Democrat must husband every vote with care. Only Moorhead was elected by a comfortable margin (sixty-seven per cent); the rest won by margins of less than fifty-five per cent—and in five cases the margin was fifty-two per cent or less.

In these circumstances, the Liberal Project's apostles command not only respect but curiosity. What impels them to stick out their necks in a profession where timidity is an occupational curse?

The answer may seem trite to those who have not met or heard members of the group. They are palpably honest men, troubled by what they feel is a drift to disaster in a fear-ridden world. They relish debate. In an old-fashioned way, they seem to feel that there is more to politics than mere electoral survival, and that a defeat based on principle may be more meaningful than a victory earned through sterile compromise.

I have talked with eight of the group and was struck by the almost painful sincerity that most of them evince. A few possess urbane polish, but for the most part these are earnest, almost humorless, men who are looking for fresh answers to old problems. William H. Meyer, the first Vermont Democrat ever elected on a statewide basis to Congress, typifies the sober and doggedly straightforward attitude of the freshmen.

"We are no longer facing New Deal or Fair Deal times," Meyer emphasizes. "We are facing a time when the questions of war and peace are the major issues for liberalism. We need to progress from the dead center we have reached in foreign affairs, and this is probably more of a problem for liberals than anything in the economic area."

According to the conventional wisdom of politics, a candidate is headed for trouble as soon as he forsakes immediate local issues for the perilous area of foreign policy. But in Meyer's case—as with others in the group—his 1958 campaign was keyed to foreign affairs as well as bread-and-butter issues. He was sharply criticized for challenging the non-recognition policy toward Red China, but nonetheless, he was elected—and in stalwart Vermont.

Thus the group's present stand stems not only from private belief but from the practical conviction that its ideas—properly presented—have wider appeal than is commonly supposed. The fall election should provide a further test of this thesis. In any event, the mere presence in Washington of the freshmen suggests that the voters are more receptive to new ideas, sanely and candidly stated, than many of their laggard leaders.

The existence of the Liberal Project was formally announced on April 19 in a statement deliberately cast in a low key, perhaps on the theory that a plain girl would cause less of a fuss in the starchily prim House.

"The 1958 elections," said Kastenmeier, the group's spokesman, "brought to Washington fifty-seven new Democratic Congressmen who, for the most part, were elected because the American people felt that a new kind of leadership and new ideas were desperately needed. . . .

"As a part of this resurgence a group of Congressmen has joined with a distinguished group of scientists, scholars, and experts to formulate new domestic and international policies applicable to the 1960s."

A month later, the group issued its first paper, an analysis of foreign policy, and it became evident that the Project would be more stimulant than soporific. The paper was in effect a frontal challenge to the major premises of U.S. diplomacy as laid down by Acheson and Dulles.

Unhappily, press accounts garbled the report, wrenching its boldest proposals out of context for headline effect. Some editorials based on distorted stories attacked the group—but this is one of the inescapable hazards of innovation.

The forty-four-page document was prepared for the group by James P. Warburg, the well-known foreign affairs analyst. Assisting in the project was Marc Raskin, a University of Chicago law school graduate.

In essence, the paper maintains that our present policy is based on the twin error of blaming Communism for the bulk of the world's ills and then of meeting the Communist challenge in the wrong way. If the Kremlin vanished overnight, our problems would remain—so the paper argues—because they stem from a many-faceted revolution "caused largely by the West itself."

"The Communists have ruthlessly and skillfully exploited revolutionary changes," the document continues, ". . . but Communism did not initiate the mid-Twentieth Century revolutions; nor would these revolu-

tions cease if the Communist dictatorships were to be overthrown."

Having improperly diagnosed the malady, our diplomacy compounds the error by treating the Communist peril as an essentially military problem, to be met with a ring of bases, a network of alliances, and a stockpile of bombs. But in practice, the paper contends, the irony of the containment approach is that it has been most successful in the area least likely to be attacked by the Soviet Union—Western Europe. Moscow's real intention is to outflank the West in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. And in these areas, the alliance with Formosa and the rearmament of Pakistan and the Arab states have had disastrous results. The paper adds:

"While producing little if any military strength, the attempt at physical containment stultified the political posture of the United States. Alliances with anti-democratic and unpopular governments . . . placed the United States in the invidious position of defending an outmoded status quo in various parts of the world where peoples desired radical change. . . . Concentration of American effort on military containment caused a woeful neglect of the political opportunities presented by almost every part of a rapidly changing world."

The paper concedes the necessity of maintaining sufficient armaments and of continuing foreign aid in competition with the Communists. But coupled with this is the need to make clear our desire for universal disarmament under adequately enforced world law and for a world-wide development program administered through the United Nations. The United States, according to the paper, "has never yet fully defined its position with regard to total disarmament." Yet: "While we do not believe that universal disarmament alone will assure world peace, we are convinced that there can be no world peace without it."

Meanwhile, with these ultimate objectives clearly stated, the United States needs to revise its approach to the immediate tension-points in Germany, the Middle East, and Far East.

Plainly, the Berlin question is most urgent. "We do not know whether an honorable and just compromise of this question is possible. We do know that, to date, neither side has sincerely attempted to reach a compromise." Instead, the paper finds, each has "demanded the unconditional surrender of the other."

"It appears to us that the Western powers must finally face a choice which has all along been inescapable. They must decide which of two things they want most—a German military contribution to NATO or the reunification of the two German states. They cannot have both."

The formula favored by the paper is the unification of Germany at the price of neutralization—but not at the exclusion of membership in non-military associations such as the Common Market or Euratom. This would be accomplished by a mutual withdrawal of American troops behind the Rhine and of Russian forces behind the Oder, leaving the Germans "to find their way toward reunification without outside interference of any sort." It is suggested that the Polish Rapacki Plan for a denuclearized zone in Central Europe offers a point of departure for the ultimate settlement of the German question.

In the Middle East, the paper advocates seeking an arms embargo on the area—with the proviso that Turkey be excluded. The establishment of a Regional Development Authority, financed by both oil-producing countries and oil companies, is suggested. As for the Arab-Israeli dispute, "watchful waiting" is proposed.

Concerning the inescapable question of Red China, the paper observes: "We cannot see how our government can hope to ease tensions or arrive at fair settlements of disputes, or above all, to achieve disarmament without establishing direct channels of communication with Peking."

Thus, an attempt to begin talks leading to recognition is urged. In the meantime, travel restrictions to Red China should be dropped and the United States should withdraw its opposition to Peking's membership in the United Nations provided that the Chinese regime reaffirms its renunciation of force which it signed at Bandung in 1955, agrees to the obligations of the U.N. Charter, and pledges support for ultimate disarmament.

As to Formosa, the paper suggests that the United States begin by recognizing the Red China claim to the offshore islands in exchange for an agreement to permit evacuation of Nationalist forces. The paper would have this country propose that Formosa and the Pescadores be placed for at least five years under U.N. trusteeship on a neutralized basis and that at the end of this period the local population should be allowed to decide its own future.

The paper's broad outlines are familiar to any relatively well-informed newspaper reader. Most of its proposals have long been discussed and debated in thoughtful circles. What is novel is that these suggestions are openly circulating on Capitol Hill, and that eleven Congressmen have announced their general agreement with the approach, if not the details, of Warburg's thesis.

Naturally, disagreements will arise over any full-scale statement on foreign policy. This is a major aim of the Project—to rouse fruitful discussion and to help restore the crackle of ideas to the *Congressional Record*. The goal is ambitious, but there is honorable precedent for the Project.

For nearly three decades, an informal bloc of Progressive Republicans—led by the elder LaFollette and George Norris—fed new ideas into the stream of politics. Proposal after proposal put forward by the insurgents was initially scorned but subsequently adopted.

Today, the central issues have shifted from domestic to foreign affairs, and within the Democratic Party a comparable ferment can be detected. The party can be envigorated by the factions within that are seeking to restate old doctrines in the new context of a shrinking world. A wise leadership ought to encourage groups like the Liberal Project and not equate dissent with revolt. Those who have missed the sound of purposeful debate in Congress wish the spunky freshmen well.

CHALLENGE TO THE DEMOCRATS

by JOSEPH S. CLARK

FOR NEARLY eight critical years our nation has been sitting placidly on the sidelines watching the rest of the world go by. And all the evidence indicates there is grave danger that, unless a liberal Democrat is elected to the Presidency in November, America will continue to sit on the sidelines for still another four crucial years. If this should happen, our freedom and security would be in greater danger than ever before in our history.

Fortunately, there is genuine hope that the Democratic Party will nominate a candidate with the will to resume for our country the role of creative participant in world affairs. If this hope becomes a reality, the American people once again will have a chance to do what they did in 1800, in 1828, in 1912, and in 1932: endorse a fundamental change of purpose in American political life.

While we have been sitting on the sidelines a great many things have been happening, here at home as well as abroad, that are not good for America—things which our children and grandchildren will not be proud of. I want to consider first the developments on the domestic scene.

In our national chase after private material wealth and social status, American leadership has been neglecting its public duty and permitting the public sector of our economy to deteriorate.

We have been told by the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, that "the ultimate purpose of the American economy is to produce more consumer goods. This is the object of everything we are working at—to produce things for consumers." This astounding statement summarizes the narrow vision, the insensitivity, indeed, the actual evil and danger, in the philosophy of those in control of the executive branch of our government.

For the aim of our economy is *not* the production of more consumer goods. It is to provide a decent and healthy environment for every American man, woman, and child, an environment which builds a strong floor beneath which we will not permit the standard of living of the poorest American to fall; an environment which places no ceiling on the aspirations of Americans of every color and creed to live the good life in freedom and to contribute to the spiritual advancement of Western civilization.

The failure of our political leadership to recognize America's true goals presents a challenge to the Democrats to adopt a platform which enunciates these philosophical, political, and economic principles, and to nominate a candidate who will enthusiastically lead the fight and put them into practice. The Democratic candidate must generate an electric response in each of us, a determination to put our talents to use for the benefit not only of ourselves but of all mankind.

What are the areas at home in which our change of purpose should become manifest?

Perhaps the most important is in our attitude towards the national economy. We must replace a psychology of timidity with one of confidence in our future. Instead of wringing our hands over wage and price increases and the rise in gold exports, we must direct our attention towards increasing the rate of useful growth of our economy. Instead of checking our growth with unsound monetary measures—restraining credit and deliberately running up the interest rate—we should be utilizing unused plant capacity, putting unemployed and underemployed citizens back to work, and producing the wealth which yields the tax revenues needed to remedy the obsolescence in the public sector of our economy.

We liberal Democrats should not take the easy way out. It *is* fiscal responsibility to condone controllable inflation. It *is* irresponsible to laugh off unbalanced budgets in times of general prosperity. We *should* use the full power of the federal government to maintain reasonable price stability. We *should* insist that the federal government collect sufficient revenues to balance the budget and yet meet our responsibilities at home and abroad.

But the vital need is a bold attack on both unemployment and inadequate production. There is no inconsistency between maximum employment, maximum production of useful goods and services, and reasonable price stability. The economy can grow, the federal budget can be balanced, and the needs of our people met with the assistance of sensible public leadership.

JOSEPH S. CLARK, Democratic Senator from Pennsylvania, has emerged in recent years as one of the leaders of the liberal bloc in Congress.

We must have stricter tax enforcement—and as a result of Democratic Congressional pressure, we are about to get it. Tax chiselers must be punished. Outrageous tax loopholes must be closed. If necessary, we may have to go part of the way back to the tax rate structure as it was before the irresponsible Republican tax cut of 1954.

If we do these things, we can have, without heavy sacrifice, the money we need, within a balanced budget, to meet our public responsibilities. What these responsibilities are is fairly clear:

Eradication of poverty: When the Special Senate Committee on Unemployment Problems held hearings in West Virginia last fall, we were told of a survey in one of the public schools designed to measure the effect of the school's hot lunch program. The weight of school children was checked at the opening of the fall semester and again before and after their Christmas vacations. Before Christmas, following three or so months of eating hot lunches at school, the children had gained an average of three to five pounds, but the gain was wiped out during the Christmas vacation when the children ate at home. That simple illustration conveys in a small way what poverty costs this rich nation in human suffering and waste. In recent years, despite general prosperity, we have come to accept a relatively high rate of unemployment as "normal." Yet there is no reason why a democratic economic system should not promote the greatest general economic well-being amid conditions of maximum personal freedom and human well-being.

The best educational system in the world from grade to graduate school: We must help our primary and secondary schools through a program of federal aid for classroom construction and teachers' salaries. We must also take drastic and immediate steps to equip our colleges and universities to turn out more and better-educated students in the years ahead. We must have a larger, better-trained, and better-paid corps of professors and instructors. A large-scale expansion of academic facilities—libraries, laboratories, and classrooms—is required to meet the mushrooming demands on our colleges and universities. And we should be helping financially every high school graduate who needs economic aid and who has the capacity and character necessary to benefit from college training.

Trained manpower where it is needed for the public good: The United States is witnessing a tremendous waste of its manpower resources. Too many people are doing the wrong things. Too many people are doing nothing at all. And too many people are not being fully utilized, because they have never had their skills and talents fully developed. In the long run, we will lose the competition with a mobilized society unless we mobilize our resources also. America needs more and better teachers, scholars, scientists, doctors, musicians, artists, poets, writers, and politicians. I believe we can find, through voluntary methods of inducement, guidance and counseling ways to achieve the same ends which the Soviet Union achieves through compulsion.

A decent home for every American family: This goal was stated as a national objective as long ago as the Housing Act of 1937. Yet the contrast of luxurious mansion and wretched slum, of airy, comfortable suburb and decaying, crowded central city is daily evidence of man's inhumanity to man. As a result of coordinated local and federal effort, the inventory of substandard housing in America has been drastically cut in the last twenty years. But there are still six million housing units which should be demolished and replaced with safe and sanitary structures. A larger share of our gross national product should be devoted to the rehabilitation of urban areas, even if, as a result, we have less money to spend for tobacco, alcohol, and cosmetics. The construction industry is already spending $50 billion a year, but it is reliably estimated that this sum should be tripled. If we can increase the gross national product, we can devote a greater proportion of our income to improving the physical conditions of urban life.

Decent health for all Americans: Long overdue attention is being focused this year on the problem of providing adequate medical care for the elderly. This is perhaps the most acute aspect of the problem of providing adequate health care, but I believe *all* Americans should have access to complete medical care at a price they can afford. The growth of our economy means an increased level of expectation not only for consumer goods but for the services on which our health and welfare depend. Thus, we should not only enact a health program for the elderly under the Social Security system; we should appropriate federal funds for such programs as aid for hospital construction and medical research, and we should continue to probe the outrageous drug prices which mean that for many people good health has been priced out of the market.

The development of our water resources: The careful and proficient use of one of our greatest national assets—our water resources—is now a matter of national, not just regional, interest. The creation of the Senate Select Committee on Water Resources is evidence that Congress recognizes the national scope of our problems in this field. In a state like my own—Pennsylvania—our population explosion and increasing industrial growth are having a serious impact on a water supply which we have wasted in the past and have still not harnessed in any orderly way. Economic and social expansion will slow down and prevent us from realizing our great potentials, unless we have a comprehensive water resource and development program. Each of the four major river systems in Pennsylvania has headwaters in another state—an illustration of why a federal water policy is necessary if we are to deal competently with problems of quantity, purity, price, fluoridation, flood control, recreation, navigation, and—along the seaboard—intrusion of salinity.

Conservation and development of natural resources: Destruction of our forests, the increase of soil erosion, failure to manage and conserve our mineral wealth cannot be permitted to continue if America is to grow and prosper. Great civilizations have fallen because they have failed to meet the challenge of dealing intelligently with their physical environment. In this monumental field we

now have a confusing hodge-podge of committees, commissions, and study groups examining problems piecemeal. The size and scope of these problems call for a central policy and a central agency for continuous inventory and appraisal of our national resources, charged with recommending to the President and the Congress the kind of adjustments needed to meet changes in industrial technology.

Civil rights and civil liberties: Our freedoms must be protected from the assaults of the surviving McCarthyites and their inevitable successors. The historic decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court should be a matter of great pride, not viewed with alarm. The Court is indeed the guardian of our individual liberties.

Civil rights is unfinished business. Legislation is needed to give the executive department authority and funds to help and hasten school integration. A federal fair employment practices act and a workable voting rights bill must be enacted into law. But perhaps even more important and effective would be a President who believes in civil rights for all Americans and is prepared to take moral leadership in the fight to eliminate second-class citizenship.

The great weakness of the last decade has been an increasing political lag—a growing failure of our democracy to take the political action necessary to meet obvious social and economic needs. A revaluation of our traditional concept of federalism—outmoded as long ago as the end of the Nineteenth Century by the nationalization of our economy and the urbanization of our society—needs our urgent and immediate attention. We are an urban, not a rural nation. The sooner we discover this new America and act accordingly the better it will be for the future of our country.

This does not mean that we should neglect our farms. Indeed, preservation of the family farm through adequate assistance from the federal government is essential. But there is no need to subsidize corporate farming. And with thousands of people moving from rural areas into the cities and suburbs every year, surely we require a Department of Urban Affairs as urgently as we continue to need a Department of Agriculture. The states have not adequately protected their own urban-directed citizens; the national government should move in.

Why is it that so many Americans are afraid of our national government? Elsewhere in the world the national government is the tool with which free people tackle problems public in character and national in scope. Yet whenever the suggestion is made that we turn to Washington to meet a new public need, a cry of horror arises. A great multitude of influential Americans regard their national government with suspicion and hostility.

The Democrats will join this multitude at their peril. It is the philosophy of a dead past, and the Republicans, not the Democrats, are the defenders of outmoded ways of political life. It is only our national government which can mobilize and commit the resources of our society where they are most needed. A chaotic and undirected society, chasing after personal material wealth, cannot long compete with the determined, mobilized, and aggressive society which confronts us on the other side of the iron curtain.

We, the people of the United States, created our federal government to form a more perfect union and to provide for the general welfare. Let us use it in the public interest before it is too late.

The other major area in which there have been developments which are not good for America is the field of foreign affairs.

For most of the past eight years there has been a steady deterioration in both American world power and in American leadership for peace, culminating in the recent Summit fiasco. Clearly, there must be aggressive new leadership in the field of foreign policy and a greater initiative in the search for world law and disarmament. Today our attitude towards peace and, indeed, towards adequate defense until we can achieve peace, is timid when it should be bold.

America's military capabilities must be strengthened to offset growing Communist military might. We are in an arms race with the Communists, and it would be folly to forget it. But the ultimate purpose of the best deterrent weapons systems science and money can produce is not human destruction, but a series of international agreements which will prevent the use of, and eventually eliminate, the weapons involved. Obviously, the best deterrent system could not give us security. It would merely reduce the risk of armed attack. It would not remove Communist capability to destroy us and our allies. It would not remove the ever-present danger of war by accident rather than design. It would merely provide a little more time to come to grips with the real problem: how to achieve world peace through world law.

Maintenance of an East-West power balance in an ever-accelerating and ever-more-dangerous arms race must not be accepted as the ultimate objective. We must use our strength to negotiate *enforceable* disarmament agreements and to promote the rule of law as the *enforceable* foundation for world peace.

The great challenge of the times is to design and present to the Communists a system of arms control and peace-keeping machinery which offers an acceptable alternative to the present dangerously delicate balance of terror.

To meet this challenge to survival from abroad, we must be as bold and imaginative as in meeting our domestic challenges. The Democrats had better appreciate that this is no time for timid men, no time for the worship of the conventional wisdom, no time to stand still.

The men who made America were not timid men, and most of them, in my partisan judgment, were liberal democrats at heart. They crossed the ocean and conquered the continent because they had courage and vision. In our typically American term, they had "guts." And the Democrats will need guts this year. But if our hope is to serve the country as the country needs to be served, we must find a Presidential candidate who will campaign with conviction on a platform which asserts that all the tools of government available in a free society must be used in the interests of social, economic, and political justice at home and abroad.

Integrity and Integration in the Suburbs

by STANLEY A. KOVEN

RESIDENTIAL racial integration—at least token integration—has come to Park Forest, a thriving, middle-income suburban community a dozen miles south of Chicago. The bare fact is of itself worthy of comment. But the circumstances and the timing of Park Forest's venture into interracial living hold a valuable lesson for liberal citizens and for their liberal representatives in government. It happened at the beginning of this election year, with the primary just a few months away.

Those who knew State Representative Anthony Scariano were certain that integration was to be a key issue of the spring primary campaign in the First Representative District. A liberal forty-two-year-old Democrat seeking his third successive term in the Illinois legislature, Scariano not only endorsed the principle of integration in the suburbs: he had chosen to play an active role in applying the principle in his home community.

In the course of his law practice, Scariano had agreed to represent a neighbor, Bert Growahl, who was moving away from Park Forest, in the sale of his home. Growahl decided to sell the $21,500 property to Charles Z. Wilson, a young assistant professor of economics at DePaul University, Chicago, a graduate of the University of Illinois, and a Negro. Realizing the political implications of the transaction, Growahl urged Scariano to sever his connections with the sale; Scariano refused.

Wilson, his wife, and their three pre-school-age children moved into the three-bedroom home at 375 Wiltshire in Park Forest on December 28, 1959. The village was stunned. Growahl had already left the community, and when the initial reaction of outrage set in, Scariano bore the brunt of it. The stage was set for one of the more passionate, if unheralded, local election campaigns.

It was apparent from the outset that, by classic American standards, here was no ordinary political campaign. The outlines of the struggle ahead were foreshadowed in the volume of telephone calls and letters addressed to Scariano.

"Do the birds that God made intermingle?" one woman asked, and then answered: "No. The bluejays stay together. The sparrows stay together, and so do all the animals. That is the instinct God gave them." Later in the epistle, she left the pulpit to get down to cases: "You might get the colored vote," she informed Scariano, "but I'll assure you, you'll get only the crackpot white vote."

Events proved the woman something less than a perceptive political prophet. An extraordinary and heartening pattern was already taking shape:

¶ The liberal segment of Park Forest and the surrounding communities, so often passive, fragmented, and torpid in First District politics, was emerging as a militant and potent force.

¶ Perhaps of more significance, this emergent force represented an authentic and spontaneous bipartisan effort, forged in the heat of the racial issue.

Citizens who had never voted in a village election enlisted in the Scariano cause, not merely to paint posters or crank a mimeograph but to canvass precincts, to appear at parlor meetings, and to scuttle vicious rumors. (According to a typical rumor, Scariano received $5,000 from the NAACP to promote the Wilson purchase.)

Robert Plotkin, a young Park Forest attorney, was among the new recruits. "I was one of the first to learn about the Wilson business," he recalls. "I called Tony and told him he was crazy politically, that he should have let some other attorney handle it. But I also told him I admired his courage and his stand, and would be more than happy to help out." Plotkin became a precinct captain, and produced an emphatic endorsement of Scariano. It was the largest primary turnout in the precinct's history.

What prompted this militancy? "We knew that the racists were out to get Tony," one volunteer explained. "We couldn't take any chances. If the racial issue wasn't settled in the primary campaign, it would be dredged up in the November election, and we knew it would be far dirtier then. We simply wanted to settle it here and now."

No one can pinpoint the source, but the mud-slinging had all the characteristics of an organized campaign. Rumor-mongering and other smear tactics, however, served to stiffen resistance and close ranks among Scariano's supporters.

Beginning in January, when letters poured in offering Republican support, the Scariano campaign became a community issue rather than a party affair. "I believe that your participation and your candid acknowledgment of your role in the [Wilson] matter," wrote a Republican attorney, "is going to cost you a few votes. I would like to offer whatever help I can in the coming election. There are quite a number of inde-

STANLEY A. KOVEN, a Chicago newspaperman, has been covering the Illinois political scene for the past four years. As a free lance writer, he has specialized recently in exploring the changing pattern of race relations in the Chicago metropolitan complex.

pendent Republicans among my friends and acquaintances . . . whom I can persuade to vote for you."

Richard and Eleanor Bailey, an independent Republican couple from Homewood who had admired Scariano's legislative record, said, "We were very upset that he apparently was to be defeated for a show of integrity." The Baileys decided to act. Mrs. Bailey helped produce campaign flyers; her husband took on precinct work in Thornton Township, going from house to house. "There wasn't a handful of professionals among us," he recalls. Bailey's campaign contacts left him with several rather powerful impressions:

"There were people who listened, disagreed with Tony on the racial issue, but voted for him because of his integrity. Then there were those who said 'We don't like this sort of thing [integrated housing],' yet at the same time they recognized their civic responsibility to protect the rights of Negro citizens. This attitude, I think, represents a change of thinking out here."

On April 12, Scariano won renomination from the First Representative District with the largest number of votes he has ever received in a primary—23,000, compared with 16,000 in the unruffled climate of the 1958 primary.

There was a harmonious sequel to this encouraging election. One week later, the villagers of Park Forest went back to the polls to select three trustees. They re-elected three who had been on the board when it had affirmed the indisputable right of the Wilsons to take their place in the community.

What does the Scariano triumph mean? During the campaign, Scariano had placed the issue squarely before the people, and had taken a bold position on it:

"Negroes are coming into the middle classes in huge numbers. Twenty or thirty years ago, a Charles Wilson couldn't have been a professor of economics. Today he's among us. What are we going to do—build a fence around him?"

The voters of the First District gave Scariano their answer. It was an answer prompted by the loyalty and hard work of liberal citizens who were inspired by a liberal political leader unafraid to apply sound moral principles.

TODAY'S MODELS—TOMORROW'S JUNK

by JOSEPH J. SELDIN

THUMBING THROUGH back issues of the *Saturday Evening Post* for 1933, one is struck by the repetition of a single selling theme in almost every advertisement—the durability of the product. Cars were inexpensive, economical to operate and maintain, and long-lasting. Packard sold the "toughest, longest-lived cars built in America today." Chevrolet sold solid construction, modest gas and oil consumption, and suggested that "the money you save on a car like this . . . is enough to buy several nice accessories, or make a monthly payment or two." Buick hailed all the Buicks on the road that had traveled 200,000 miles and more, and were still serving a useful life after "five, ten, even fifteen years of use." Nor was it only automobiles which were sold on durability. So were refrigerators, radios, furniture, clothing, shoes, clocks, irons, carpets, and paints. All promised faithful, long-lasting performance.

Today, we are in another merchandising world. In less than two decades, in the changeover from an economy of scarcity to an economy of abundance, product integrity had tragically fallen victim. Today, millions of dollars are spent on promoting "the square-look" in kitchen appliances, wafer-thin watches, free-form furniture, sculptured-look irons, wrap-around chrome on cars. But manufacturers are silent on the durability of their wares.

They are silent for good reason. Product durability in an economy of abundance is nothing less than economic suicide. No one knows this better than manufacturers. They view with both pleasure and anxiety the mad scramble by today's consumers to accumulate household and personal goods. Major appliances, such as refrigerators, radios, television sets, washers, and dryers, whose life cycles extend to ten or twelve years, already have saturated nearly all the nation's households, and other consumer goods are approaching saturation. The widespread application of automation, enabling factory production of consumer goods even more easily to outrace consumption, increases the problem.

Many industries, particularly in the major appliance field, face steadily shrinking markets and individual manufacturers ultimate extinction. Industrial officials have felt they simply had to shorten the useful life cycle of so-called "durable" consumer goods to hasten the return of the consumer to the market. In recent years, many have adopted the venerable Detroit practice of the Annual Model Change.

Frigidaire broke with twenty-five years of uninterrupted production of "streamlined" white appliances when it offered new "Sheer Look" styling in color-tints. "Every line is straight, every corner is square, the whole look is sheer." Consumers were enticed by charcoal gray, Mayfair pink, Stratford yellow, Sherwood green. A study had indicated that color loosened the purse strings, particularly in the mushrooming middle-income class, where the extra money lies today. Color promised quicker obsolescence of the ninety-five million refrigerators, ranges, and washers sold in the last ten years. Four out of every five

JOSEPH J. SELDIN is a New York consultant on advertising and promotion who has written for a number of American publications.

buyers of the new tinted refrigerators admitted that the refrigerators at home were still in good condition; one out of three said the appliance was less than five years old. "It is my belief," remarked a company executive, "that color . . . will enable us to reduce significantly the trade-in span from eleven years to perhaps seven, or even lower." Another executive told the American Marketing Association that creating psychological obsolescence was absolutely essential to industries selling in saturated markets. He hoped the appliance industry would be "as successful as the automobile people."

The watch industry, which had been plagued by the durability of its products—"watches just won't wear out"—opened a drive to change the public's mind about the desirability of old watches. "A man will wear the latest in shirt fabrics, the short brim hat, new striped tie, Dacron shirt, but he will take pride in showing a watch that's twenty years old and looks it." Benrus, Bulova, and Gruen turned to style obsolescence as the psychological lever to raise annual watch sales from twelve million to a more profitable twenty million. Ten or twenty dollars was offered for old watches "regardless of age, condition or make." Thousands of watches were purchased and junked by the companies, which called the promotion "spectacularly successful in obsoleting old watches." Not only was the public reeducated that a watch was not a lifetime purchase, but fashionable people bought a "wardrobe" of watches for various social functions.

The furniture industry jogged consumers to replace ten- and twenty-year-old living room and bedroom suites. *National Furniture Review*, a trade publication, told retailers how to pry loose the extra cash of the middle-income class, which is particularly susceptible as a group to the blandishments of "new, modern furniture," citing examples of successful advertising approaches. A Uniontown, Pennsylvania, store offered "$50 for your old living room or bedroom suite regardless of age or condition." A San Francisco store urged consumers to "Trade-In and Spruce-Up." A New York City furniture chain told consumers: "Trade in your old furniture as you would your old car." Trade-ins were reported by retailers throughout the nation as a sales booster of expensive new furnishings. Four out of five retailers today gladly accept old furniture as trade-ins. "Only eleven per cent report the handling and resale of trade-ins is profitable," but the practice "magically facilitates the sale of new goods."

The Carpet Institute urged the trade-in practice on carpet retailers. As a proven inducement to consumers to "replace rugs and carpets earlier and more often," it opened up the big, new "carpet replacement market that awaited exploitation in this country." Recommended consumer advertising approaches were: "DON'T BE CHAINED TO YOUR OLD RUGS," showing a pretty young thing handcuffed to a rug; "UNHAPPY WITH YOUR RUGS AND CARPETS?" asked of a brow-furrowed housewife; and the painless cure for anybody's "homitosis," another way of tagging old-fashioned styles. The replacement sales campaign succeeded: retailers reported a twenty per cent rise in new carpet sales, and the problem of inducing consumers to replace rugs less than ten years old seemed solved. Previously, consumers had allowed fifteen years and longer between carpet purchases. Now, retailers automatically picked up an extra bonus, because the old rug is prevented by the trade-in practice from landing on the floor of a secondary room, thus keeping the channel clear for an additional carpet sale.

At a recent marketing conference of the National Association of Home Builders, 1,000 of the nation's biggest builders were urged to embrace the trade-in principles developed by the automobile industry. "How many new cars would Detroit sell if Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors spent all their advertising dollars telling motorists how easy it is to fix up a 1950 car to be just as good as a new one? The builders were told they were inadvisedly "spending four dollars advertising to the fix-up market for every one dollar spent to tell customers how much . . . more fun it is to live in a fine new house than in the present old one." Today, one out of three builders pushes new home sales by inducing the buyer to trade in his old home. If the trade-in advice is fully heeded, "tomorrow may find trading homes as common as trading cars and appliances is now," editorialized the *American Builder*. A Dallas builder skyrocketed his annual sales from $250,000 to $2,250,000 in three years by persuading buyers to swap modest for more luxurious homes. And recently, the National Institute of Real Estate Brokers noted the passing from the American scene of something held dear by every prior generation: the goal of owning a home without a mortgage.

Detroit's automobile industry is today the mecca for many other industries, each seeking salvation and redemption by shortening the useful life of its products. Electric shaver companies offer up to $8.50 as a trade-in allowance toward the purchase of a new shaver. RCA Victor gives a one dollar credit for each old record toward the purchase of new records. Singer offers a $50 allowance toward a new sewing machine. Big photographic supply houses agree: "Trade-in allowances are the lifeblood of our sales." Johnson Motors acknowledges that half its outboard motor sales are trade-ins. Even the sterling silver industry, an ancient symbol of wealth and aristocracy, has succumbed to the trade-in practice.

If the trade-in is one side of the coin, the other is shoddier goods; together they form a syndrome characteristic of our times, in which, ironically, the continuance of product durability would threaten the nation's prosperity. Trade-in is partly justified by the psychological satisfactions

THE BURNING TRUTH IN THE SOUTH

by MARTIN LUTHER KING

Now available in a four page reprint.

single copy 10 cents

additional copies 5 cents each

Reprint Department

The Progressive

Madison, Wisconsin

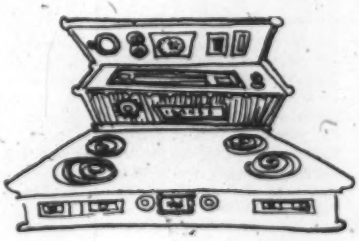
it gives to owners of the up-to-date. But shoddy goods only produce irritations, vented in angry letters to manufacturers, retailers, newspapers and magazines, and particularly women's service publications. Directed mostly at automobiles and electrical appliances, resentment runs high at glaring examples of slovenly workmanship, poor materials, careless assembly and inspection. "The American motoring public," *Automotive News* has warned, "will not put up with the missing bolts and nuts, the malfunctioning parts, the squeaks and rattles and frequent return trips to dealers for adjustments—all of which are the rule and not the exception in present American cars." What new car owner in recent years has not replaced a blown-out muffler several times? Today, the muffler is the product of a $300 million industry; a few years ago it was just another automotive part.

Probably the most frequent visitor to the American home today is the serviceman for the washer, dryer, TV, and other electrical appliances. A Chicago housewife told *Printer's Ink*, a sales publication: "I always have a 'man' coming. One came yesterday, one came today, there'll be one tomorrow. It almost seems as if the repairman is a member of the family." A target himself for consumer anger, the repairman is quick to point out the loose wires, poor insulation, faulty filters, and other defects. One repairman said: "Things are made too fast now. In the last three or four years appliances are even worse than they were after the war."

An especially striking example—an open secret in the appliance industry—is the washer and washer-dryer turned out by a major company between 1955 and 1957. A field check disclosed an inordinately high number of service calls, two or three times more than the number expected. A published report stated: "Thousands of housewives complained bitterly that their 1955-57 washers and washer-dryers needed six or seven annoying and costly repair calls a year. . . . Company repairmen discovered faulty clutches, transmissions, and filters in alarming numbers." The company is making good, repairing and replacing some 40,000 units at an estimated cost of $10 million. But totally unexplained is how thousands of defective appliances were turned out for three solid years without detection. Where was the company's inspection staff? What is the point in the company's spending millions of advertising dollars building up its image in the public mind as a producer of reliable goods, and then losing every nickel in the bitter consumer cry: "I'll never buy that brand again!" This company, like other blue chip companies, would not tolerate the installation and use of plant equipment that was faulty. Why should the consumer, any more than the manufacturer, tolerate second-class equipment?

Repairs are becoming more and more costly to consumers. The average family spends an estimated $100 to $150 annually to restore appliances to working order. Part of the cost, of course, results from the growing number of appliances in the home: today's housewife operates perhaps $2,000 worth of equipment. But part is the direct result of built-in infirmities in products. Many "can scarcely hold together for shipment," E. F. Tangerman noted in *Product Engineering*. It denotes what one adman calls the "what-do-you-expect" attitude by manufacturers; another more inelegantly calls it "the great goof-off." Recently, Representative Leonor K. Sullivan, Missouri Democrat, suggested that so many U.S. manufacturers are cutting so many corners to keep costs down that "shoddy" may eventually become the national norm. She sympathized with the "millions who find their new gadgets of all kinds falling apart in use." And *Advertising Age* gently reminded manufacturers that "consumer respect for the product is an essential part of any marketing mix."

Today, industrial engineers and designers are hired by the thousands to perform annual face-liftings on consumer products. They do the job, but most of them resent it bitterly. Their years of training equip them to make useful consumer products still more useful. But their training is wasted, and the textbook precept that good design must be built in, not draped on, is violated in their daily work.



Annual restyling of cars, appliances, radios, carpets, watches, TV's, furniture, and thousands of other items tends to debase American taste. "There are only so many good ways at a given time of designing a product," says Walter D. Teague, Sr. "If you *must* do something different, you are apt to do something bad, something bizarre. That is why car design has grown so extreme in this country. People buy these flamboyant jobs because nothing in better taste is offered."

Still more serious is the debasement of a key mass production principle, by which standardized products are produced in quantity at low cost. This consumer benefit is being lost as more and more manufacturers push multi-million dollar trade-in programs. Says Harold Van Doren in *Industrial Design*, "The cost of continuous restyling, not because of design fees, but because of tool expense and constant revision of merchandising and promotional plans, tends to cancel out the advantages of mass production by keeping prices artificially high."

Clearly, the nation as a whole is suffering an irreparable loss in the process of speeding up consumer goods consumption. How meaningful is the achievement of a $500 billion Gross National Product when so much of it represents goods that are junked yearly or so poorly put together that they fall apart quickly in use? As manufacturers continue to shorten the useful life of their products, and Madison Avenue mounts an $11 billion annual advertising barrage to sell consumers on the middle-class ethos that ownership of the up-to-date is prima facie proof of superior status, it is time for a reassessment of individual and national objectives. The recently established President's Commission on National Goals would do well to look into this disturbing development of planned obsolescence as it searches for ways to chart more hopeful roads for America.

The Tammany Tiger Runs Scared

by DAVID CHALMERS

REVOLT AND REFORM have pounded periodically against the doors of New York City's Tammany Hall. But few attacks on the organization during its long and wayward life have equaled in scope and intensity the current assault against Tammany Boss Carmine De Sapio and his once powerful machine. The outcome of the June primary election, in which De Sapio experienced the worst defeat of his career, is a measure of the strength of the new wave of reform.

New York City is traditionally ruled by a small group of patronage-minded politicians and the business interests clustered around them, to the exclusion of a whole spectrum of other interests. The current revolt gained momentum when the election of Republican Nelson A. Rockefeller as Governor split open the Democratic ranks, and the divergent, discontented forces that Tammany did not represent began to coalesce more rapidly. The once-dominant Irish politicians are grumblingly unhappy over their displacement by the Italians, and the younger Italians feel that the older generation is hogging the good jobs. The Harlem Negro, angry over rule by the Downtown white world, is finding leadership in a growing middle class, and an increasing number of young, college-educated liberals are fighting to take over organizational control of the party at the roots.

New York's political history has been that of a liberal city run by an ultra-conservative Democratic machine. As long as the organization helped elect progressive candidates, it was tolerated as a necessary evil. But when the Tammany tiger arrogantly turned on popular, liberal candidates and brought defeat upon the party, a great many Democrats suddenly discovered that Tammany was a dangerous evil and not nearly so necessary as they had complacently assumed.

Governor Rockefeller's victory revealed the decay in the Democratic Party. In the home state of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Robert F. Wagner, Sr., and Herbert H. Lehman, there seemed to be no progressive leaders left. Congressmen and members of the state assembly are usually patronage-minded district leaders. Most of the prominent liberals, such as Averell Harriman, Thomas Finletter, Herbert Lehman, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, are aging and have become the elder statesmen rather than the leaders of the party. Between the ages of forty and seventy, there is no one except likable but ineffectual Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr.—and Carmine De Sapio.

The prospect is that the Democrats will continue to hold New York City, but the image of "bossism" in the party organization appears sufficiently repelling to give the state to the Republicans whenever they can muster an attractive candidate. And it is here that the Republicans have great strength—in Rockefeller, Senator Jacob Javits, and liberal young Manhattan Representative John Lindsay, who had to beat the regulars in his own party for the nomination.

De Sapio, chairman and controlling power of Tammany Hall, probably cost the Democrats the 1958 election by his steamroller tactics at the state convention in Buffalo. He had promised the Senate nomination to Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan, hoping to pacify the increasingly disaffected Irish vote and at the same time "open up" the district attorney's office, which has been the cleanest and least political office in the city. Liberal Democrats considered Hogan too narrowly qualified for the Senate. Only Mayor Wagner would have been reasonably acceptable to everyone. At the eleventh hour a delegation called on Wagner at his hotel room. The bathrobed mayor appeared at the door and shook his head. "Sorry, boys," he said. "My wife doesn't want me to take it."

From that point it was all over. Governor Harriman had waited too long to have a say in picking the candidate, and his promised, last-minute floor fight "against bossism" never materialized. The selection of the candidate by the leader of the New York City machine, over the glowering anger of the Governor, wrecked any hopes the Democrats might have had to win the election. As the campaign rolled on to its humiliating end, Democratic frustration was turned inward in painful self-examination.

There are no deep divisions between the insurgents and the regulars on most national issues. As a Northern, big city Democratic organization, Tammany supports progressive legislation, particularly in Albany and Washington, as "patronage to the liberals and the voters." New York City's government is run, at the top, by many eminently able public servants. The network of social welfare services is one of the most comprehensive in the nation.

However, no program is any better than the way it is carried out at all levels of government. More than half a century ago, Tammany philosopher George Washington Plunkitt set down basic truths about municipal

DAVID CHALMERS, assistant professor of history and social science at the University of Florida and summer lecturer at the City College of New York, has made a special study of Tammany and its opponents. He is the author of a forthcoming book on the Muckrakers in American history and is at work on histories of the Ku Klux Klan and the vigilante tradition in the United States.

government when he distinguished between "honest" and "dishonest" graft. To back up a truck to the city hall and steal the shingles from the roof would not only be dishonest, but foolish. However, if a man had political pull, then the city might decide a new roof was needed; someone has to take away the old roof and put on a new one, so why not a Tammany man—and at a good profit? This is "honest" graft, and as Plunkitt pointed out: "more money and no penal code."

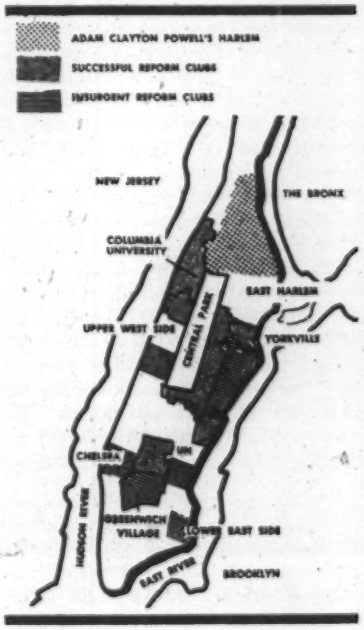
The existence of graft, honest or dishonest, is the principal reason for the existence of the machine. Although most city jobs are under civil service, the party in power can usually take care of its "faithful." The officers and district captains of De Sapio's own local Greenwich Village club, and their families, are on the city payroll to the extent of $273,325 a year. In addition, the organization has considerable influence in selecting qualified civil service applicants for appointment or promotion. In turn, Tammany quietly collects a "voluntary" tithe from many city workers, although this is not the major source of private and party income. Nor do the payoffs made by the citizen, whether bartender or builder, to policeman or building inspector, go to the machine. City contracts, court patronage, and a favorable atmosphere for specific business interests are of greater importance, for New York City is one of the world's largest businesses, with a budget of more than two billion dollars a year. Who is awarded the contract to haul or supply; how much is paid for the land; who gets to build the new housing project, fire house, or school; and who sells the insurance on it—these are the matters which are of vital importance to the organization.

Another lush source of "honest graft" is court patronage and favor. In cases of condemnation proceedings, court awards to the politically favored are often scandalously unrelated to land values. Every year, estates, guardianships, and receiverships worth more than two billion dollars pass before the benches of Surrogate Judges Cox and De Falco. When the court must appoint officials to handle these choice legal plums—at substantial fees—it does so from a select list of lawyers who enjoy the favor of the organization.

Although able men may reach the bench, the primary qualification is service to the party. Frequently the result is mediocrity in office and a strong bias toward the vested interests which the political clubhouses represent. The judge (or policeman) who has traveled this path will usually deal sternly enough with an act of violence which is destructive of property and the social order. He is liable, however, to exhibit amazing leniency toward those with "good connections." A suspended sentence was given to the former chief accountant of the Real Estate Bureau after he had been convicted of stealing almost $40,000 from the city. The general sessions judge, who had previously suspended sentence on two dozen top policy bankers, explained that he had been profoundly moved by the fact that some of the stolen money had been returned.

Judges tend to display a like tenderness toward greedy landlords who subdivide deteriorating, rat-infested buildings into "rooming houses" or "hotels" to evade rent control laws, and who extract exorbitant rents from their Negro and Puerto Rican tenants. If the landlord is not a member of the regular club, his lawyer almost certainly is. Of course, the landlord overcharges, overcrowds, and undermaintains—it's good business. So are the numbers racket, prostitution, and dope peddling; all are deeply rooted in the established pattern of the community and the clubhouse.

For the moment, however, public pressure has become too hot, and despite judicial disinterest a mild official campaign is being waged against the slum landlord. This sudden championship of downtrodden tenants suggests a new awareness that something has happened to Tammany's grip, especially on the Harlem vote.



The revolt in Harlem should not come as a surprise. For years Harlem's growing Negro population has voted Democratic while seeming to ask nothing in return. The Negro was so grateful to the New Deal that in the 1930s even Republican poll watchers voted for F.D.R. In reality, Harlem has long wanted a great deal, but had had no way to express its desires. It got little patronage even in the office of Borough President Hulan E. Jack, whom many Negroes scornfully call a "black Italian." Civic-minded leaders want more playgrounds, hospitals, permanent teachers to replace substitutes, and better, less-crowded schools. Negro businessmen would like to be cut in on the profitable city contracts. White men skim the cream off the illegal spoils—the well-protected numbers, prostitution, and dope rackets—and the slum landlords seem almost untouchable.

In the supercharged emotional atmosphere kindled in every Negro community by Little Rock, an explosion was set off two summers ago. The spark was provided by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, minister of Harlem's largest congregation, the Baptist Abyssinian Church at Seventh Avenue and 138th Street. Handsome, intelligent, talented as an orator and phrasemaker, Powell has been one of the nation's most blazing advocates of Negro rights. To many Negroes, including Powell himself, his cause and that of his race are inseparable, although in some informed liberal circles Powell is under bitter attack as a demagogue given to massive bouts of hypocrisy.

The maverick Powell supported President Eisenhower in 1956, in what was widely believed to be a deal with the Republicans to escape prosecution for tax evasion. This gave De Sapio an excuse to rid himself of Powell, particularly when Harlem's regular Democratic leaders assured him Powell could be beaten. De Sapio had been badly informed. Powell attacked the Tammany regulars as "Uncle Toms on Massa Carmine's plantation," and rode the growing tide of discontent to a three-to-one triumph.

The size of his victory came from Harlem's huge working class population. As marginal men in a white man's society, Negroes hailed the chance to thumb their noses at the white man's Downtown world. Harlem's intellectuals and middle classes had long considered Powell self-seeking, but they, too, jumped on the bandwagon, responding to the appeal of his Negro nationalism.

The Negro tends to feel that neither party is much concerned about him. Predominantly a member of the lower-income bracket, the Negro's economic interests in particular lie more closely with the Democrats. However, the party in power must also bear the brunt of the Negro's bitterness over his second-class role in society. Hence the antagonism of Harlem (Uptown) is focused against De Sapio (who represents the Downtown which dictates to Harlem). While Nelson Rockefeller is personally well-liked, as a Republican he offers the Negro little economically. By working through the Negro politicians who owe their position to the white folks Downtown, he is accused of accepting the widely-disliked "stooge system." A self-led, patronage-dispensing Harlem, as an autonomous unit within the Democratic Party, is the only path acceptable to the Negro community.

The charges that Powell cheated on his income tax and the scandal over the "loans" made by a wealthy builder to Borough President Jack have not hurt either of them detectably in Harlem. Most Negroes believe that white politicians "rake off" astronomical amounts of money. It is regarded as another sign of discrimination that the only leaders Harlem has in the white world are set upon for what are regarded as comparatively minor indiscretions.

Powell's future plans are not clear in his own mind. He surprised friends and enemies alike when he kept his promise to challenge Tammany in the leadership primaries in Harlem, and now that Hulan Jack has joined him he controls three of the sixteen votes in the Hall. It is a loose combination run by an expert manipulator, Ray "Tiger" Jones, and held together through a political dependence on Powell and the prospect of patronage. It is not committed to an anti-De Sapio program, and Tammany will probably be willing to make an arrangement in order to protect its hold in East Harlem and other interests. Any arrangement between Powell and De Sapio, however, will be of a temporary nature, subject to Powell's ambitions, combined with an ever greater demand for patronage. While not an immediate threat to De Sapio's power, Harlem is no longer safely manageable, and that is trouble enough for the boys in the back-room.

The discontent of the Irish is another, but probably the least serious, of De Sapio's problems. For almost a hundred years the Irish dominated New York City Democratic politics. Their large numbers, their use of the English tongue, and their political cohesiveness and experience enabled them to take over leadership of the newer, less adjusted immigrant groups which began to flood into New York in the 1880's. By the 1940's the Irish were tending to merge into the general population as they went up the social and economic ladders, and their cohesiveness and bloc loyalty to the Democratic Party declined. Under their own expanding middle-class leadership, Italian-Americans gradually replaced the more Americanized and integrated Irish as the mainstay of the Democratic Party in New York City, and took over the machinery and the patronage. The Irish resent it, but their forces are now too dispersed to do much about it.

Still another, and possibly fatal, problem for the head of Tammany Hall is the expanding revolt of the young liberals. Independent Democrats may occasionally win major office, but only the capture of the party machinery at the local level would substantially change the nature of New York City politics. The reform clubs are seeking to do just that.

Because any movement against the machine must be waged through separate struggles in the individual assembly districts, attempts have been made to unify the numerous reform groups. The result has been the emergence of four different levels of reform action:

¶ The successful liberal clubs.

¶ A growing number of insurgents.

¶ An insurgent clearing house, the Council of New York Democrats, set up under the tutelage of wealthy industrialist George Backer.

¶ A higher policy organization formed by the "Old Turks," Mrs. Roosevelt, Thomas Finletter, and former Senator Herbert Lehman, and staffed by young insurgents.

Having made a vital contribution to the insurgent victories in last September's primary, the "Old Turks" intend to expand into other boroughs and upstate. These rich and idealistic Democrats are concerned both with defeating the deadly image of "bossism" which hangs over the party in New York and with removing the roadblock the machine places in the way of selecting a liberal Democratic Presidential candidate.

De Sapio and the regulars will control most of the huge New York delegation at the Democratic National Convention. They like fellow-regular Lyndon Johnson for President, but they realize he is too Southern and conservative for New York voters. The Tammany chief and his associates feel they can also work with the Symington forces, many of whom were with De Sapio in the Harriman camp in 1956. Kennedy has great allure for he offers De Sapio the possibility of consolidating the Catholics of Manhattan behind a De Sapio-run party. The Kennedy candidacy, however, causes some alarm because the Massachusetts Senator is not regarded as sufficiently regular. The biggest danger would be Adlai Stevenson whose 1952 and 1956 volunteers later formed the core of many insurgent clubs. If Stevenson is the candidate, his supporters would provide a base for the expansion of liberal insurgency. Most of the "new pros"

strongly favor Stevenson and the possibility of his candidacy is one of the major reasons the Lehman-Roosevelt senior leadership is involved in city politics.

The power structure of New York's Democratic Party derives from a fairly simple organizational plan. In each of Manhattan's sixteen Assembly districts there is a Democratic "club," which controls policy and patronage in its district. The elected leaders of the various clubs form the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party. It is this group, known as Tammany Hall, or Tammany, which rules New York City politics today as it has almost since Tammany was founded in 1789.

Seven active reform clubs, casting three and five-sixths of sixteen votes, are represented on the Executive Committee. To take over as "regular" clubs, each of the seven had to collect thousands of nominating petition signatures and win elections while facing obstacles ranging from lawsuits tried before Tammany judges to tapped telephone wires, glued-up keyholes, and election eve sidewalk repairs in front of their headquarters. All the reformers were denounced by the "old pros" as Communists. On the road to success, they have become campaign-hardened "new pros." Four additional reform clubs came close to winning last September, and in Greenwich Village, where he was defending his own district leadership, Carmine De Sapio staggered to a less than 600-vote victory.

Each District has its own political and procedural problems. As a Tammany judge, Louis T. Chimera, described it, De Sapio's Greenwich Village has a Mason-Dixon line—West Fourth Street. The Italian areas south of the line are "our" people, he explained. "We've all grown up together, and they know we'll take care of them." North of the line is New York's famed Bohemian quarter: "Show-offs," the judge snorted. "They don't like the idea of patronage, so we appeal to them with the 'community service' pitch."

To the charges that the regulars refused women a voice in club affairs, the judge indignantly explained: "We don't discriminate against women. *Nobody* votes in this club! What is there to vote for? This is *Carmine's* club." To the mind of the regular, insurgency comes from an unseemly drive for power by those who should wait their turn. "Boy scouts and megalomaniacs," the judge sniffed. However, an official of De Sapio's own Tamawa Club grasped an inkling of the benefits of a contested primary: "Carmine used to be too busy to come down to the club very often, but now he's there almost every week, asking, 'Can I do anything for you?' "

The reform Democrats believe that the party should not be the private corporation of the leaders, and that democracy must function in the making of decisions. The alternative is inferior government run on a patronage and personal favor basis, and a less dynamic party. The clubhouse man, as an insider, is not much interested in the mass of the voters, who are "outsiders."

Conspicuously absent in both regular and reform clubs are the Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who will soon be New York's largest population groups. This will create as many difficulties for the reform as for the old line Democrats. Reform insurgency has been primarily a college-bred, middle-class movement, in the almost exclusively white sections of the city. It has been divorced from the lower-income and ethnic blocs of voters and has almost no lines of communication with the rising tide of Negro nationalism. Only the Riverside Club around Columbia University has been in a position to reach out to bottom-income Puerto Ricans and Negroes. Under the dynamic leadership of former Assistant District Attorney William Ryan, probably the ablest reform leader in the city, Riverside made the housing scandals into a public issue and finally forced the city fathers into belated action. The Negro membership of the club is growing; the Puerto Ricans, grateful but suspicious, are not yet involved in politics. In the June election, Ryan won nomination for Congress in a smashing victory over De Sapio's candidate, incumbent Ludwig Teller.

Although Puerto Rico has become the required vacation spot for all Manhattan politicians, no single leader commands the loyalty of the city's 650,000 Puerto Ricans, and until they show greater progress in learning English, there will be no significant Puerto Rican vote. Furthermore, unlike the timid immigrants of an earlier day, the Puerto Ricans are not afraid of government and do not need the intercession of the clubhouse. Accustomed to social services on their home island and well briefed by the large Manhattan office of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, they are not timid about applying for relief, registering at a clinic, or hauling errant lovers and delinquent children to the police station. Filling the worst-paid jobs in the city's hotels and in-

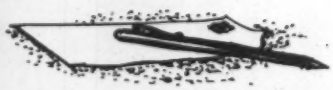
dustries, the Puerto Ricans have not yet developed a middle class, and the younger generation has not been knocking at the doors of high schools and colleges with the enthusiasm of earlier immigrants. These traits make the Puerto Rican oddly inaccessible to both reformer and machine. The Negro leaders, rather than aid the Puerto Ricans, prefer to exclude them from politics—and patronage.

The major struggle for power is at present between the old-line machine and the liberals, and the big question is the staying power of political idealism. Membership in a struggling underdog reform movement often implies a tendency toward viewing issues in moral terms. Differences in policy and procedure within and between liberal clubs often tend to develop serious schisms. On the other hand, Carmine De Sapio has been adroit in reaching accommodation with reform groups, and there is a marked tendency for such clubs to become somewhat more conservative, particularly under the influence of patronage.

The extent and fierceness of last year's campaign, as well as the Eleanor Roosevelt-Lehman-Finletter leadership, has brought the liberal clubs closer together and in more overt opposition to the machine. This has made De Sapio increasingly dependent on the right wing in the Hall, reducing his room for maneuver. His flexibility of action is also handicapped by conflicting financial commitments and by his fondness for the spotlight. In addition, there is serious question about the long run ability of the present leadership to integrate the expanding Negro, and the as yet dormant Puerto Rican, claims for recognition.

In New York City, as elsewhere, much of the power of boss control rests upon voter apathy. The success of the liberal insurgents in appealing to a broader electorate would strike at the heart of the power of the "old pros." At the turn of the century, George Washington Plunkitt, the Tammany Socrates, explained that reformers were like "morning glories" which quickly withered "while the regular machine went on flourishing forever, like fine old oaks." Faced with the changing complexion of Manhattan, Carmine De Sapio has an increasingly demanding job in cultivating his forest.

The Letter from Pomona



by WILLIAM L. ROPER

SOVIET PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV has shown an occasional hankering to elbow his way into the American Presidential campaign. Obviously, he is not well read in United States history, for he seems not to know that Americans traditionally resent outside interference in their domestic political quarrels—and have been known to transform an approving nod from abroad to a kiss of death at the ballot box. This is precisely what happened in 1888 when a development celebrated among students of political phenomena as "The Murchison Letter Episode" changed the outcome of a Presidential election.

President Grover Cleveland, a Democrat and low tariff advocate, was locked in a tight Presidential race with Benjamin Harrison, a Republican and grandson of former President William Henry Harrison. The Republicans, in their role of stout champions of high tariffs, were trying desperately to whip up voter interest in the foreign trade issue.

In their party platform that year, Republicans had accused President Cleveland of putting the trade interests of Europe ahead of domestic welfare. They had made fiery speeches and distributed tons of campaign literature expounding this thesis. But they were having trouble rousing excitement among the voters. Newspaper polls showed President Cleveland maintaining his lead as the election drew near.

It was at this crucial moment in the campaign that the incident occurred which was to have such momentous results in the Presidential election.

In Pomona, California, then a community of 3,000 persons and now a city of more than 50,000, George Osgoodsby, a farmer and amateur politician, sat down in his modest cottage to do a job for his Republican Party. He wrote a letter to the British Ambassador, Sir Lionel Sackville-West, in Washington, D.C.

Stating that he was English by birth and still considered England the motherland, Osgoodsby wrote slyly that many persons of English parentage had refrained from being naturalized because of the United States' hostile attitude toward England. But Cleveland's Administration, he added, had been so friendly toward England that many thousands had become naturalized for the express purpose of helping to elect Cleveland to a second term. One action by Cleveland, however, had caused doubt, he wrote. It was the Administration's unfavorable action toward Canada in regard to fishery interests. So he wished to know if the Ambassador believed Cleveland was sincere in proposing a policy that was anti-British or whether this was being done to win the support of American voters who were hostile to England.

"As I before observed," Osgoodsby concluded, "we know not what to do, but look for more light on a mysterious subject which, the sooner it comes, will better serve true Englishmen in casting their votes."

Instead of using his own name, Osgoodsby signed the fictitious name,

WILLIAM L. ROPER, formerly on the staff of the Los Angeles Times and Los Angeles Examiner, is a California free lance writer specializing in political and historical subjects. His articles have appeared in The Nation, The New Republic, Frontier, and Coronet.

"Charles F. Murchison," with his own post office address.

Although Lord Sackville-West had been Britain's Ambassador in Washington for seven years and must have known that American political campaigns were full of tricks, he fell for this one. Taken in by the apparent sincerity of the cleverly written letter, he dictated an answer which implied that, everything considered, Cleveland's election would be more to the interest of Great Britain. As the Ambassador expressed it, President Cleveland, if re-elected, would again "manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved"—free trade and the Canadian fisheries agreement.

The British Ambassador took the precaution to mark his reply to the fictitious "Murchison" private. But Osgoodsby lost little time in showing the Ambassador's letter to Colonel Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles *Times*, who was considered the Republican boss in California. Otis published both the "Murchison Letter" and Lord Sackville-West's reply in his own *Times* and wired copies of the correspondence to New York and Washington dailies.

The effect was electric. Throughout America both Republican and Democratic newspapers began criticizing the Ambassador and angrily accusing Great Britain of trying to dictate to its former citizens how to vote in the coming Presidential election. Lord Sackville-West voiced an emphatic denial. He insisted that he had not overstepped the traditional bounds of a foreign envoy. But the frenzy grew.

The New York *Sun* urged that the Ambassador be handed his passport without further ado. A reporter for the New York *Tribune* interviewed him, inquiring how he felt about the furor resulting from publication of the letters. The story of the interview was published by the *Tribune* October 24, 1888, under the headline: LORD SACKVILLE-WEST DOESN'T CARE.

President Cleveland was furious. Goaded into action by this headline and the mounting hysteria, he instructed Secretary of State T. F. Bayard to demand an explanation through the American Ambassador in London. In London, Lord Salisbury, Britain's Foreign Minister, indicated that he preferred to let the dust settle. He said that he felt there was insufficient cause for recalling Lord Sackville-West, and that he would like to investigate the matter further.

Meanwhile, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had taken a hand in the controversy. To the charges made by the Committee and by President Cleveland, Sackville-West issued a reply.

"Of course," he was quoted as saying, "I understand the action of the Senate and the President's letter of retaliation were for political effect. In a general election it is but natural that every point should be seized upon by both parties which would have an effect on the voters."

This statement further infuriated President Cleveland. He instructed Secretary of State Bayard to hand the Ambassador his passport. Having done this on October 30, 1888, Bayard again brought the subject to the attention of Lord Salisbury. Once more Lord Salisbury said that he did not believe the Ambassador's recall was justified. He added that he felt the entire matter should be considered by Parliament.

So in November election day dawned with the controversy still unsettled.

When the electoral votes were counted, Harrison had 233 to 168 for Cleveland. But the closeness of the contest was better measured by the popular vote. Cleveland had received 5,540,329 popular votes to Harrison's 5,439,853. If the popular vote had been decisive, Cleveland would have won, but it is the vote of the electoral college that decides who shall be President and Vice President. Thus, although President Cleveland was the choice of a majority of the voters, Harrison had succeeded in carrying more states, and hence won the Presidency.

Even before the smoke of the election had died away, political pundits were saying that "The Murchison Letter" fiasco had defeated Cleveland. Most students of American politics are so convinced to this day.

How did Osgoodsby, an obscure farmer, come to write the letter? Two versions of the story have been handed down. One, published by the Los Angeles *Times*, which played a key part in publicizing the explosive correspondence, was that Osgoodsby acted on his own initiative. According to the *Times* story, he conceived the idea while "sitting around the stove talking politics in Debrunner's grocery store" in Pomona.

But imagine sitting around a grocery store stove in Pomona in August or September, when the mercury frequently registers in excess of one hundred degrees.

The other version is that the *Times'* publisher Colonel Otis had much more to do with inspiring "The Murchison Letter" than was ever revealed by his newspaper. Years later, after the heat had died down, George Merritt, who had been manager of the Western Union telegraph office in Pomona and business agent for the *Times* in 1888, told of arranging secret meetings between Osgoodsby and Colonal Otis. How many such meetings he arranged, he never told. But he did describe one meeting in detail.

One evening, Merritt said, Colonel Otis came to Pomona and remained hidden in a darkened building, while Merritt went out seeking Osgoodsby. The publisher, Merritt explained, took these precautions because he did not want any one to see him talking with the letter writer. Shortly after this furtive, surreptitious caucus, Osgoodsby disappeared from Pomona. Merritt said he understood that Osgoodsby, fearing Democratic vengeance, left one dark night for Fallbrook, a small farming community near San Diego.

There were rumors that Osgoodsby was a political hack writer from the East, that his pose as a farmer was only a masquerade, and that he had been imported to do a job. What became of him remains a Republican mystery.

He was not on hand to greet President Harrison when the President stopped over in Los Angeles and Pomona on April 21, 1891, to shake hands with his political supporters. But Colonel Otis was there in all his glory.

The Quiet Russians

by Harry H. Pollak

For years now, Americans have been assailed by the bombast and strident diplomacy of Soviet officials from Stalin to Khrushchev—and on down.

Some of us, meeting during the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization, have been faced with stiff-necked, unrelenting, confident Soviet crusaders who would brook no differences of opinion and were always, always right.

It therefore came as a surprise to see another kind of Soviet representative—the men the Kremlin is sending to the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa. In India we saw nearly a thousand Russian technicians helping the Indian government erect a gigantic steel mill at Bhilai in the District of Durg in Madhya Pradesh.

Where once there was only hot, red wasteland, there is now springing up a new "Pittsburgh," and, manifestly, the Russians who financed the construction of the project with a credit of nearly $133 million, at about a two and one-half per cent interest rate, are making diplomatic "hay." This is true despite the far greater American contributions to all forms of technical assistance in India, and despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. was not involved in any significant aid until after the highly publicized Khrushchev-Bulganin triumphal tour of India in 1955.

The reason is not difficult to come by. To the Indian people a steel mill is the arch-symbol of their efforts to lift themselves up into the major industrial nation category. In the key race that India is running—obviously against Communist China—steel is a vital index to development. The Chinese Communist slogan of "a blast furnace in every backyard" is a measure of that country's interest. Many an Indian may owe his life to the grain and milk that came from America, but the concrete visualization of the future—even when dimly seen by the lowliest peasant—may be in the hot glare of coke ovens and the flow of molten steel. But, one may answer, there are other gigantic steel mills springing up. At Durgapur there is an excellent "British" mill. At Rourkela there is a "German" plant untler construction. At Jamshedpur, which I also visited, there is the pioneer Tata plant that is being expanded with American technical assistance from Kaiser. But each of these operations suffers from a special "defect" in the view of at least some key Indians.

At the British project the complaint runs that the British are aloof and treat their Indian counterparts with cool reserve. At the German plant relations between local residents and some of the German engineers have been poor. At the Tata plant the operation is in the "private sector," and as one Bhilai official explained, Russia has "extended hands of friendship to the public sector."

Many of these charges are exaggerated, but during one of my two visits to India during the past year, a tour of Bhilai brought out something new about the nature of Russian technical assistance which bears even closer examination.

L. N. Misra, superintendent of mechanical maintenance, personally escorted us around the giant works. There was a blaze of activity everywhere. Bulldozers were clearing ground and cutting through roads. New homes and schools were going up all around us. The atmosphere was a combination of Eastern boom town and the pioneering of the old West. The giant earthmovers contrasted sharply with the half-naked male and female laborers working on construction.

Misra, we learned, was a former Tata chief engineer who, like several others now in key positions at Bhilai, had been persuaded to come into the new program. He struck me as being an eager, dynamic, and straightforward individual. As he showed us the coke oven, battery number one, in operation, and white hot pig iron flowing out of the blast furnace, he explained that Bhilai in its first stage expected to produce one million tons of steel when it reached capacity. When the first stage of Bhilai is completed, four and a half million tons will be available in India from all the mills in the country.

As we moved on to the electrical motor shop and construction area for the open hearth furnace, Misra tendered an invitation to a special ceremony that evening when the first "loco" was to go into the open hearth. Ceremony and ritual, we were to learn later, played an important part in the morale-building activities at Bhilai.

We were eager to know how Misra felt about the differences in the Soviet and American approaches, since he had been at Tata's. He thought for a while and then said:

"In the United States everyone is allowed to think, while in the U.S.S.R. there is one man who thinks or orders and others execute. One orders; others carry through blindly. While in practice confusion is sometimes created, most of the time it works all right."

As he took us through the operation, he indicated where Russians had been able to solve simple but vital problems—such as self-sustaining repair shops where repairs were made in the area of breakdown—in comparison to what he considered the American approach at his former "alma mater."

The Russians, Misra said, had pro-

HARRY H. POLLAK, international representative for the AFL-CIO, recently completed two trips to India. This article originally appeared in The American Federationist.

duced better screening for the coke ovens. There was better access at the many points of the coal chutes. They used bigger brakes. Being a genial and basically friendly man, he added, somewhat as a consolation:

"Outside of Russia, nobody can beat America in steel."

There seems to be a "will to believe" in Russian technical superiority that is alarming and annoying to the casual American visitor. There is a tendency to ignore the facts that the Russians have had their share of difficulties and that the Bhilai plant is behind schedule.

We returned to our apartment nearby and met a representative of the Bhilai public relations staff—a man with a "soft sell" quite unlike our Madison Avenue types. He told us that when construction was completed it would take 7,000 to 8,000 employes to operate Bhilai. At present there were 54,000 employes, but 32,000 of them were on construction. A total of 950 Russians were at Bhilai and were steadily being replaced.

(We later learned that there are plans to double the capacity of the mill, which would mean that the Russian technical advisers would probably remain for some time.)

What about the Russians? The public relations man responded: "They are not dictators here. They advise and guide." The technique, he added, was equal "Russian and Indian responsibility."

I noted that the Russian senior officials were housed in apartments similar to ours, in extremely comfortable modern buildings, with a large dining room, living room, bedrooms, and well-tended gardens outside. Moreover, all contained air conditioning, refrigeration, carpeted floors. An excellent restaurant, catered by one of India's leading restaurateurs, Gaylord's, provided fine food. Most of the Russians had less sumptuous but adequate quarters and their own cafeterias with their own cooks where they could obtain *borscht* and other familiar staples.

What about the language barrier? While the Russians have many interpreters, the public relations man said they were teaching Russian to a thousand Indians at the project.

That evening we went to the area where the locomotive was to make its initial run into the plant. Even though it was long after sundown, a great number of construction workers were on the job outside. Inside, there were a number of Russian officials with their wives greeting workers, together with the Indian dignitaries and their families.

Suddenly a cry went up and the whistle blew as locomotive T3B13 slowly rolled into the mill. It was gaily decorated, and a number of workers were on the top and hanging over the sides. There was an air of genuine excitement, and we saw broad grins on the faces of the Russian and Indian officials. Here we met the Russian chief engineer, N. K. Goldin, and other Soviet representatives who were beaming broadly. We also met one of the chief Indian technicians, Suku Sen, who honored the occasion with a big red flower in his buttonhole.

"We will have ingot steel in eight to ten days," he told us. He said that the ceremony sparked the workers with inspiration. We asked him how he got on with the Russians, and he remarked: "Excellently. They are not our bosses. They work side by side with us in a partnership arrangement, and when an Indian learns the job we tell the Russians to get out."

The next day we had a long discussion with another leading official who compared his experiences with American technicians in India and with the Russians. One of the great problems, he said, was that Americans, with a much higher standard of living, tend to raise prices in the marketplace. The Russians, whose standards are closer to the Indian, tend to "blend" into the local economy.

"Socially and culturally, we are closer to the Americans," the official said. "There is little contact with the Russians on a social basis. They stay to themselves, and on rare occasions when Indians come to their homes, conversations are limited. Their behavior is impeccably correct. They do not get into trouble, as nationals from other countries have on occasion."

From several sources we learned that the Russians tend to refrain from open political discussions. They play their roles as technicians to the hilt. There appear to be no serious efforts to involve themselves with local Communist Party activities. And as long as the foreign technicians are at Bhilai and it is considered a "Russian" steel mill, there is little likelihood that there will be any serious Communist efforts to organize the workers.

In the pioneering "haze" which envelops Bhilai—by comparison with the long-established Tata Iron and Steel Company works at Jamshedpur—there is a dark side. Beneath the level of top and secondary management and selected "permanent" per-

follow the
—candidates
—conventions
—campaigns
in

The Progressive

Subscribe now—
10 months only $3

(new subscribers only)

Enclosed $3. Send The Progressive for 10 months to:

Name.....

Address.....

.....

The Progressive
MADISON, WISCONSIN

sonnel is a vast mass of temporary workers—primarily construction workers—who live under primitive conditions, who have no strong union to protect them, and who work under hazardous conditions. A doctor at a Bhilai field dispensary told us there are so many sick and injured workers that the health facilities are overburdened and many have to be turned away without care.

Conversely, at Jamshedpur, we were impressed with housing, health, and safety emphasis, and many other advantages, including what appeared to be a higher wage pattern.

Ironically, the Communists at the Tata works not long ago engaged in a violent and bloody strike, whose consequences are still being felt.

From all of our conversations with Indians and from our observations at the plant level, we got the impression that this new kind of Russian "Point Four" is making an enormous impact. The tensions with Communist China over the border incursions do not seem to affect the attitude of the Indians toward Russia. They look at the U.S.S.R. with rose-colored glasses.

The brilliant editor of *Thought*, Ram Singh, has described the special advantages the Soviet Union has in such "peaceful competition":

"Russia has the singular advantage of its permanent public relations office in the agency of the Communist Party of India. Do what America will, there will always be some people in this country, or in any democratic country for that matter, who would make it their business to decry America and lionize Russia."

His suggestion to the democratic friends of India is simple:

"Let the words be few but action abundant to demonstrate the undoubted excellence of their technique and humanity."

I came away from Bhilai and its sprawling township, Bhilainagar, with a strong feeling that our country needs not only to reevaluate some of its aid projects abroad, but that it must pay extremely close attention to the nature of its personnel and their relationships with the peoples of other societies.

As my friend Ram Singh said:

"More than a change in the pattern of aid, what is indicated is a change in outlook, approach and perspective."

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

A Time for Self-Analysis

Dear Sirs:

I have been a student of Russian and Soviet history since my junior year at the University of North Carolina, 1915, and I have traveled extensively throughout that area. Furthermore, I am in close contact with others who have traveled widely there.

It is my considered judgment that Mr. Khrushchev today enjoys a higher degree of the confidence of his people than almost any other leader of world stature. Propaganda to the contrary can only do great disservice to this nation.

The stark truth is that the President by admitting that the U-2 was on a military mission, and then compounding this blunder by asserting this was necessary, closed the door on any further negotiations at the summit. No leader could possibly retain the support of his people by yielding to this kind of pressure.

This is no time for tub-thumping or sabre-rattling. It is a time for the most difficult of all human operations: that of self-examination. It is time to redouble our efforts to avoid catastrophe by continuing seriously the present negotiations for banning bomb tests and for disarmament.

The "cold" and "holy" warriors must not be permitted to profit by this blunder, whether they engineered it or not as some believe. It is time for the civilian forces of government to recover control of national security; it is time for the President to recall the delegation of his fundamental responsibilities, and it is time for the Congress to recover its constitutional responsibilities over peace and war.

HUGH B. HESTER
Brigadier General
U.S. Army (Rtd.)
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Nixon's Pulpy Principles

Dear Sirs:

As several of your correspondents have indicated, William Shannon's article on Richard Nixon was too heavy-handed. The unfavorable reaction it created among some of your subscribers was almost inevitable.

Actually, Mr. Nixon is a beautiful object for ridicule, as your editorial last month pointed up. His defense of "progressive conservatism" (not to be confused with "conservative progressivism") shows clearly how adept Mr. Nixon is at the verbal game of combining pluses and minuses that add up to nothing.

During the coming months we can expect him to come out for "dynamic docility," "creative conformity," "courageous caution," and other pulpy principles. This sort of nonsense calls for a lighthearted attack. Only the fast-flying dart, not the battering ram, will prick the bouncing bubble on the fence.

C. W. GRIFFIN
Denville, N.J.

Intellectuals in Politics

Dear Sirs:

Intellectualism frequently is not held in high repute, even by people who might reasonably be expected to support it. Pinning the label of "intellectual" on a political opponent often is considered a shrewd move. The intellectual politician (or the political intellectual)—not very fondly known as an "egghead"—is deemed to be an asset of dubious value to the republic.

There certainly is a role for intellectualism in any society, but the role need not be fulfilled solely by some separate and special group. To be sure, some people specialize in scholarly pursuits; there are rigorous techniques and procedures of research and deduction which necessitate specialists. But a free society requires that rational thought processes and dispassionate analysis—in short, "straight thinking"—not be confined to a small group of professionals. The intellectual, then, is distinguished more by his standards and perspective in his approach to problem-solving than by his profession or title.

To some degree, everyone is an intellectual. If a free society is to remain free, a *substantial* proportion of the community must be intellectuals to a *considerable* degree. Those who deprecate intellectualism are attacking the ultimate strength of our society.

For many of us, the real tragedy of the elections of 1952 and 1956 was not that the Democrats lost. Rather the tragedy lay in the possibility that the political professionals and the more vociferous amateurs would reach the simple conclusion that a candidate who makes an undisguised and unashamed appeal to reason is not a good campaigner. It may be calamitously concluded that 1952 plus 1956 furnish adequate evidence that an individual in the Stevensonian tradition must never again be entrusted with party leadership. Truman and Eisenhower, while they differ in many ways, share two characteristics: they hardly resemble intellectuals, and they are winners. The same is true of Grant, Harding, and a number of other former occupants of the White House.

But it requires a most tortured interpretation of history to conclude that our best and most distinguished Presidents have been

those of this character. To those who argue that it behooves a party to nominate a person who appeals to the "little man" instead of to the "intellectual," it should be sufficient rebuttal to mention such names as Washington, the Adamses, Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln, and Wilson—unless it is forlornly felt that our forefathers were a much more discerning lot than the present generation.

Adlai Stevenson is not the only potential Democratic nominee with credentials of intellectualism. Kennedy and Bowles, for example, have been known not only to read a book, but even to write one. But it is Stevenson who has amply demonstrated that political discussion in the national arena can be effectively raised to a sophisticated and responsible level. It is Stevenson who has so conspicuously demonstrated high mental stature and moral strength in the heat of major campaigns. It has not been made apparent to Stevensonians that there are compelling reasons for the Democrats to substitute another candidate this year.

A party which, on the criterion of excellence, deliberately chooses a second-best candidate may well discover that its strategy misfires even in the short run. Bad strategy is a poor substitute for excellence in philosophy. And in the long run, it almost certainly will find that its moral strength and even its political power, like its honor, have ebbed away—largely because it has alienated the intellectuals.

WILLIAM R. ALLEN
Department of Economics
University of California
Los Angeles, Calif.

Mayer on the Germans

Dear Sirs:

I find *The Progressive* immensely useful. I have particularly enjoyed the articles by Milton Mayer. His "The Germans Again" is a masterpiece which I intend to translate into German for publication in the liberal press of Germany.

DR. JULIUS FLEISCHMANN
Zurich, Switzerland

Dear Sirs:

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on Milton Mayer's magnificently informative analysis of things German in the May issue. Mayer's fundamental clarification comes with a special timeliness and exposes another glaring example of our futile, cynical, and half-baked foreign policy.

ELLIS O. JONES
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

After reading "The Germans Again" by Milton Mayer in the May *Progressive*, and "This is East Germany" by George Bailey in the May 12 *Reporter*, I'm in the market for a third opinion. Which one of these writers knows what he is talking about? Here are a few comparative quotations:

MAYER: "It [the rebuilding of East Germany] was done in part with the assistance of Russian credits and imports that was niggardly compared to America's priming of the West. It was done with the frightening German energy, efficiency, and conscientiousness that did it in the West."

BAILEY: "East Germany is too poor and too dispirited to provide from its own resources the capital investment it needs to keep production increasing at the rate the Russians have decreed. Hence the Russians must foot a large part of the bill."

MAYER: "Today the per capita consumption of butter, sugar, and animal fat in the East is higher than it is in the West."

BAILEY: "By midsummer 1959 milk production in East Germany had sunk so low that it could no longer be offered for free sale."

MAYER: ". . . per capita production of electricity surpasses not only West Germany's, but Russia's, and it is half as expensive as West Germany's."

BAILEY: "Industrially, the most worrisome of all shortages is electrical power."

These are just random excerpts. Here are two responsible observers, writing in the same month in two reputable journals, who do not seem to agree on a single issue. What is the answer?

D. E. TRUAX
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

Milton Mayer and *The Progressive* have rendered another great service to humanity with the May issue article, "The Germans Again."

I would like to suggest that this article be made available for the widest possible distribution throughout the country and abroad. I say this as one who has lived for thirty years in Germany; knows it intimately; loves the Germany of Goethe and Thomas Mann, of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms; appreciates the land of the tidy and the industrious; and as one, on the other hand, who has been most apprehensive, to say the least, of the Germany of Frederick the Great, Bismarck, the sabre-rattling Kaiser, and the schizophrenic Hitler, to name but a few.

JOHN R. REED
Maplewood, N.J.

Dear Sirs:

Milton Mayer writes about "The Germans Again," and some of us read it and groan, "Milton Mayer again," and marvel that he wants to do it—again and again.

Mayer implies that the blood and bone of West Germans are akin to the Nazis. "If he [a German] were more lovable, he might be loved. . . . Loving him is inconceivable . . . and as long as he isn't loved he will have to hate and be hated." So—the Germans (well, the West Germans, that is) are a degenerate, damned people and there is nothing to do but hate them. In England, France, and the United States swastikas are aberrations of a few hoodlums, but in Germany they are symbols of a depraved nation.

But East Germany—what a heartening contrast! "What the State Department calls the so-called German Democratic Republic." The unspeakable State Department that by implication has "rewarded" the Germans "for being Nazis." Russians of course wouldn't stoop to anything so revolting as anti-Semitism.

I think Mayer's caustic and usually accurate analysis of the evils of Western society would get a "positive" response from many of us if only he could bring himself to love us and the Germans and himself a little more. Yes, he and the rest of us ought to love the Russians too. But if he didn't hate everybody else so much, he could love them and yet not be afraid to see and report that tyranny is abomination to the human spirit. He seems to have absorbed the idea (heaven knows from what source) that some nations (or is it races?) are good and some are bad.

MARY FARQUHARSON
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sirs:

Milton Mayer reproduces in his May article the official claim of the East German government that the per capita consumption of butter, sugar, and animal fat in the East is higher than it is in the West. The unofficial answer is the following slogan in East Berlin: *"Keine butter, keine sahne, aber auf demmond, die rote fahne."* (No butter, no cream, but on the moon, the Red Flag.)

E. J. GUMBEL
Columbia University
New York, N.Y.

Education's Villain

Dear Sirs:

I have read with some annoyance the article by Dorothy Samuel, "The Villain in Education," in the May issue of *The Progressive*. It is disturbing to me that the author considers motivation for learning to be so greatly influenced by a grading system. From my point of view the "curve" is merely an attempt to get away from the arbitrary and often prejudicial whimsies of individual teachers.

Psychological studies seem to indicate that the rigid grading system she wishes to return to strangles the genuine desire to learn and breeds anxiety. Surely, teachers should be more concerned with making school work intrinsically satisfying and meaningful if they wish to produce scholars of high ability and creativity.

RONALD G. HAVELOCK
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

Dorothy Samuel, in her article, "The Villain in Education," makes two assumptions that need to be examined.

The first is that if we flunk more students all students will work harder. The second is that if they work harder they will learn more. Time and observation have shown me that Miss Samuel's assumptions, which seem entirely reasonable, are, more often than not, false in practice.

The students who do best in any class are usually doing less work, in terms of time, effort, and anguish, than students doing far less well. Many failing students may be working hardest of all. Making more children afraid of failure will convince many that there is no point in working, and will make others so fearful that they will get less and less benefit from the work they do.

When the author talks about "strict grading" she assumes that for any subject, in any grade, there is an objective, impersonal, absolute standard by which students may be graded. Where does it come from? All grad-

ing is subjective, all marking standards are arbitrarily set by someone. Since any standard will result in a certain number of failures, will Miss Samuel tell us what percentage of the student body she thinks should be failed in any course, or how she would go about setting her grade standards?

Teaching children to work for marks is not going to make informed, curious, or intelligent people. What it develops is a breed of student who thinks that the aim of school is to outsmart the teacher, to figure out what he wants and give it to him. We have more than enough of these in our colleges as it is.

JOHN C. HOLT II
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

As a teacher who, like Dorothy Samuel, has taught in a public school system, I would like to relate an experience, closely paralleling the one cited by the author, to dramatize the seriousness of the "curve" device.

After my first nine weeks of high school teaching, I turned in my grade report, which included seven failing marks out of 130 students. This was close to 5.3 per cent failures. The "percentile cult" permits an approximate maximum of seven per cent in each of the "A" and "F" groups, but discourages even that many in the latter. I, too, received a quick and emphatic summons from the administration for an orientation course in the school's "marking system."

I learned this: it is too idealistic to expect strict standards of achievements from my pupils; it is assumed that all teachers who graduate from college nowadays use the relative grading system exclusively; in a public system, no one should be failed, if avoidable; and that all this is "unwritten school policy."

Somehow, I was "to get these students through." But they achieved nothing, I argued. No matter. Simply "pass them if they were civil and cooperative, and caused no class disturbances." This, too, was "policy."

The result? My administrators adjusted the grades, against my will and my marking system.

What are the alternatives? What is one to do—"buck" the system, or conform? I compromised, maintaining rigid standards on daily work and unit exams, and donating a "curve" on final tests. The results, I might add, on the daily work, were always far superior.

Dorothy Samuel deserves unreserved commendation for pointing up this serious issue in education. The issue is "mediocrity." One of the causes is the "curve."

GEORGE PINKERTON
Muscatine, Ia.

Dear Sirs:

Among the many who have contributed to the recent popular attacks on our public schools, the general pattern has been to paint the picture of our school administrators as a group of people who are either stupid or determined to undermine our nation's strength. I was disappointed and surprised to find *The Progressive* climbing on this shoddy bandwagon with the substandard article by Dorothy Samuel. Miss Samuel tries to make it appear as though some rare situations are typical of our public schools. This is far from the truth and is an unjustified effort to weaken the confidence of Americans in their schools.

R. A. BOLSTER
San Diego, Calif.

Disputes Mayer on Israel

Dear Sirs:

Milton Mayer, in "The Germans Again," in the May *Progressive*, makes an unfortunate and unjustified statement regarding the economy of Israel. Referring to East Germany, he says, "this Ohio-sized land is as hopelessly incapable of economic self-support as Israel."

Since it was established in 1948, in spite of the war launched by the Arabs and their persistent belligerency and boycott, this Vermont-sized country has managed not only to receive one million refugees, but also to integrate them into her economy and to give them hope for a new life.

Israel's production has trebled in ten years and the national product increased twelve per cent in 1959 alone. This unusual expansion has transformed austerity conditions which prevailed until 1954 into relative prosperity. Only a few years ago there was strict rationing because of food shortages. Today, Israel is faced with farm surpluses.

In 1959 exports totaled some $300 million compared to $45 million in 1950. Thus, Israel's exports now cover about fifty per cent of the imports despite the fact that the population has more than trebled.

Once the Arab States renounce their belligerency, once the Arab States and Israel put an end to their arms race, and once Israel is given a chance to develop its water resources and irrigate half of its territory which is now lying barren, then I am sure Israel can support itself with even a much larger population than the present two million.

A. M. SAVITT
Washington, D.C.

Nasser's 'Hitleresque Tactics'

Dear Sirs:

Your March issue carried an article on Egypt by Sidney Lens. The impression of Colonel Nasser created by the writer is that of a benevolent ruler with only good intentions. Mr. Lens tries hard to convince us that Colonel Nasser is not a dictator, but he fails to determine just what Nasser is.

The Arabs, and especially Colonel Nasser, admire brutal force—be it Communist or Fascist. Nasser's admiration of the great dictatorships of the Twentieth Century forced the Middle East to go through several severe crises during the last few years. Nasser's policy of subversion has alienated Tunisia and Iraq from the Arab League; his subversion necessitated the British and American intervention in Lebanon and Jordan in the summer of 1958; and he is doing his best to undermine Western positions in black Africa, in the oil areas of the Middle East, and recently in the Caribbean. These are well known facts which seem to have had little effect on Mr. Lens' writing.

Nasser is an ambitious ruler who has dedicated himself to the conquest and domination of the Arab world under one government with himself at the head. His continued refusal to open the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping is a brazen bid for popularity among Arabs. Using Hitleresque tactics, Nasser has tried to create a false image of Israel as a threat to Arab security and an image of himself as a great protector of the Arabs against aggression.

M. A. PALMQUIST
Washington, D.C.

Silent No Longer

Dear Sirs:

The international events of the past month have stunned me into silence and disbelief. But I cannot remain silent any longer.

My beloved country has done wrong. Over the past four years the government that represents me has been committing provocative acts that could lead to war.

What is even more disturbing is the effort made to rationalize the wrong, to make it appear that the Russians are to blame for our immoral acts. Over the years, in statements both public and private I have condemned Nazi and Russian espionage activities. How can I remain silent when my own government engages in similar illegal acts?

We don't need more intelligence on Russian military preparations, but more intelligent and mature conduct in ending the cold

Two Stevenson Reprints

AMERICA'S BROKEN MAINSPRING

by ADLAI STEVENSON

•

ADLAI STEVENSON: LAST CHANCE

by RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

each reprint:
single copy 15 cents
five copies 50 cents
fifteen copies $1

reduced prices on larger quantities

Send your order or inquiry to

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

war, in concluding a nuclear test ban agreement, in turning over our arms to the United Nations, and in tackling the real problems facing mankind—mass poverty, disease, malnutrition, illiteracy, racial inequality, and the vestiges of colonialism.

ROBERT S. VOGEL
Pasadena, Calif.

Governor Collins' Deeds

Dear Sirs:

After reading the letters in the May issue attacking William Shannon's article on Richard Nixon, I re-read the original article. I see nothing in the intensive criticism of the Vice-President's record to justify the harsh words of some of the letter writers, and I feel that the Shannon article is badly needed to inform the voters of what sort of a man is now seeking the Republican nomination.

However, I cannot agree with your praise of Florida's Governor Leroy Collins. If we are to judge men by their deeds instead of their words, it is clear that Collins has no better record than his gubernatorial neighbors in Georgia and Alabama. In the six years since the desegregation decision, he has offered absolutely no leadership towards ending segregation in Florida's schools. He has signed into law legislation designed to close any schools which a federal court orders integrated. During the Tallahassee bus boycott, he obligingly suspended city bus service until the city council could draft a new ordinance designed to continue segregation under another name. He is attempting to be a universally popular neutral on an issue which admits of no neutrality, and to present and former residents of Florida such as myself, it comes as a surprise to learn that he is seriously regarded as a "voice of reason" in the South. The "voice" may be there, but the deeds are not.

JOHN BOARDMAN
Syracuse, N.Y.

Farmers Getting Poorer

Dear Sirs:

We read in the May issue a letter by E. A. Bayless, Albany, Oregon, about "our rich farmers." There are a few rich farmers, but the majority are poor and getting poorer. If this trend is not stopped we will end up with all the land in the hands of a few.

We work too hard and long on our farms. I would like to invite Mr. Bayless to visit us for a week—free room and board—to see for himself, firsthand, how it is. After a week, he can stay as long as he likes if he works as long and hard as we do for fifty cents an hour or less.

We are not lazy or ignorant. There is nothing like first hand information and we want Mr. Bayless to have it.

HAROLD AND ROSINA WOODHOUSE
Power, Mont.

Lack of Moral Fiber

Dear Sirs:

Although I do not always agree with the viewpoints expressed in your articles, I respect the arguments presented and respect the logic behind most of them.

However, you seem to allow a pure propaganda article to infiltrate the magazine too often. I have just read "The Affluence Peddlers" by Margaret Halsey in your May issue. It disgusted me. The type of logic used would be something I would expect from a liberal "Senator Joe." It is pure tripe. Why you allow the many fine writers in your magazine to be down-graded by association with this pure propaganda, I'll never understand.

This lack of moral fiber on your part is exactly why I am discontinuing your publication. If you should ever improve your standards, I would be glad to reconsider reading *The Progressive*.

LEWIS E. STIEGHORST
Denver, Colo.

Mayer's Remarkable Capacity

Dear Sirs:

I want to express my appreciation to you for publishing Milton Mayer. The articles which appeared under the title, "Who Fights for Freedom?," especially that on the Hungarian revolution, were the essence of truth. I say this as a former Tito Partisan in Yugoslavia who endured Italian fascism and imprisonment for many years. Mr. Mayer has a remarkable capacity for penetrating and exploring the soul of man.

ANTHONY OLIVARI
San Diego, Calif.

Shannon on Nixon

Dear Sirs:

We were somewhat dismayed in reading "The People's Forum" to see objections to William Shannon's article on Richard Nixon based on opposition to *The Progressive's* policy of printing such facts. No doubt those who object to reading the truth concerning Nixon can find reading matter which is more palatable without giving up reading entirely.

PHILIP PLANT
DONALD HAYES
Knoxville, Tenn.

Sit-In Students Report

Dear Sirs:

The Congress of Racial Equality has published a new brochure on the current Southern Sit-in Movement: "Sit-ins: The Students Report," edited by Jim Peck.

This brochure differs from all others in that it was written by Southern students—from six different states—who have been a part of the non-violent movement.

The pamphlet may be ordered from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York, for twenty-five cents.

JAMES R. ROBINSON
Executive Secretary, CORE
New York, N.Y.

Free!

A reprint of

THE TRUTH ABOUT NIXON

BY WILLIAM V. SHANNON

. . . with every new subscription to

The Progressive

one year $5
two years $9
three years $12

—

new subscribers
10 months $3

Enclosed $..... Enter ☐ a new subscription.
Send the Nixon reprint free.
Renew for ☐ one year ☐ two years
☐ three years

Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

The Progressive Madison, Wisconsin

BOOKS

Wechsler's Anger

REFLECTIONS OF AN ANGRY MIDDLE-AGED EDITOR, by James A. Wechsler. Random House. 239 pp. $3.95.

Reviewed by

Robert Lasch

JAMES WECHSLER is angry about a number of things: about the "age of unthink" personified by today's young beatniks, about the persistent apathy with which too many people contemplate the prospect of nuclear war, about the "deliberate lack of speed" with which Negroes gain the rights that ought to be theirs, about lackadaisical newspapers, about the repulsive kind of young conservatism symbolized by William Buckley, Jr.

But most of all the editor of the New York *Post* is angry about political dullness. Throughout this book the reader is made aware of a pervasive ennui. Wechsler is repelled by "the drab listlessness that afflicts our political bodies." He finds many who aspire to political leadership "so small and so dull." The young seem beat and the old seem bored. Despite a spreading cult of personality, in which the important thing is the image rather than the thought, "politics has acquired a soporific dullness." The liberals are in retreat, no great issues are sharply defined, compromise has become "a soggy stalemate," and it is time for a new beginning. One finds oneself wondering how much of the author's anger is a disguised middle age. Do the dead excitements of a bygone youth translate themselves into discontent with a dull present?

But Mr. Wechsler is not so far gone as many of his generation. He is unwilling to concede that politics and public affairs are something to be abandoned in this age of suffocating private affluence. If the electorate is benumbed, he believes it is because the movers and shakers have failed them. If, in the phrase of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the bland lead the bland, still there has rarely been a time "that clamored so loudly for valor and initiative, for the unconventional political act, the uninhibited word, the unequivocal thought." And he is unable to believe that "the glib evasion, the discreet retreat, the soft smile," are the last word.

Essentially this is a highly personal book about the reactions of one self-conscious liberal to the men and issues of this decade. There is an excellent chapter on McCarthy, which suggests that we have not yet reaped the full harvest of the brief blight which the Wisconsin Senator visited upon the land. There is another good chapter on Nixon ("Life of a Salesman") and a fine, indignant essay on the American press. Mr. Wechsler never tires of reminding his newspaper colleagues how most of them declined to get excited when Senator James Eastland attacked the very citadel of journalistic respectability, the New York *Times*, for alleged Communist infiltration. And he tells a fascinating story of how J. Edgar Hoover's propaganda machine swung into a counter-attack on the *Post's* unfriendly analysis of J. Edgar Hoover—before the offending series of articles had been published, or even written.

As one who can claim to be middle-aged if not so angry, I laid down the book with a feeling that Mr. Wechsler is perhaps too irritated by the inherent loneliness of liberals. Possibly because he grew up in the heady days of the New Deal when for a brief interlude liberals were in power, he seems to forget that this is not the natural lot of the breed. He yearns for the realignment of parties that would enroll all the good guys in one party and the bad guys in another. This would be neat and orderly, and certainly it would simplify things for men like Wechsler who find themselves revolted by political association with the Eastlands and the Lyndon Johnsons. But whether it would clarify the function of the liberals is not at all certain. That function is not so much to rule as it is to educate; not to consolidate but to create; not to conquer reaction but to hound and harass it. Although it is nice to be on the winning side at times, and nice for an editor to lead a parade of righteousness with at least a few followers behind him, still the tasks of liberalism are worth doing even without these rewards, and candor compels recognition that most of the time the labor goes unrequited. Which makes it all the more necessary for angry middle-aged men like Wechsler to go on being angry.

Design for the '60s

LIVE AND LET LIVE. A PROGRAM FOR AMERICANS, by Stuart Chase. Harper. 146 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed by

Robert J. Lampman

IN THIS, his sixteenth book, Stuart Chase offers a disordered beginning of ordering the problems of the 1960's. His scope is set wide enough to catch all the essentials of this period in history. In this sense it is a sequel to his book, *The New Deal*, which was written almost thirty years ago.

However, this slender volume disappoints the reader's hope that it, like the earlier book, might be a significant tract for the times. In his preface the author asks the reader to consider the work as incomplete and in outline form. But the book is less than this modest claim would suggest and is best described as a collection of miscellaneous notes on a variety of topics set down in a bewildering pattern.

Chase's general method seems to be to identify problems by locating big changes. Clearly the most fundamental changes are technological in nature. He almost says that this kind

of change itself is the problem. Thus, he writes, "The crisis of our time is applied technology, growing at an exponential rate." He lists a great variety of changes, which may be reduced to three kinds: military (nuclear weapons); economic (increasingly "closed" or "organization" character of national economies, population pressure upon limited resources); and political (world-wide upsurge of nationalism and the rise of new world powers).

To build a world where people live and let live in reasonable security we must solve the two leading problems of how to avert nuclear war and "how to raise living standards around the world and so help to balance the present unstable condition of humankind." Chase observes that all the big questions are in the field of international relations. ". . . it is here that Americans must concentrate their thinking in the years ahead. Our greatest problems are not on the domestic front, except insofar as the domestic situation blocks their effective consideration."

Chase does not have any unique set of proposals about how to meet these international problems. The political problems will be solved only by a basic change of attitude on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Raising living standards around the world is a problem for local, national, and international planning. The author's emphasis upon the planning method is epitomized by his proposal of a World Planning Board. Planning, defined as "cooperation with the inevitable," is also offered as a way to solve our domestic problems. At the same time, he finds that the most important problem of qualitative standards is beyond the reach of legislation and will hinge upon "educating people to be bored with junk."

The book has a disjointed character; while the leading problems are recognized as international in character, more than half the material in the book is about domestic affairs. There is no clear connection between the international crisis and such matters as the domestic farm problem. Nor is it clear that we can gain much understanding of the critical problems of today's world from a review of American history.

Perhaps the book itself is the best evidence of the cultural lag about which Chase writes. The author has identified and ordered the problems technology has cast up for us. But neither he nor anyone else has yet drawn up a cohesive and compelling program of action which will bring our domestic concerns into clear international focus.

Yet, in opening his writer's notebook and sharing his developing thoughts about problems and priorities, Stuart Chase has made a useful contribution to the discussion of national goals.

Strachey on Empire

THE END OF EMPIRE, by John Strachey. Random House. 351 pp. $5.

Reviewed by

William Appleman Williams

AS THE SECOND of his projected studies of modern industrial society and its dynamics, John Strachey's reflections on empire prove rather less stimulating than the first volume on *Contemporary Capitalism*. Yet American readers may find it worthwhile on several accounts. It offers a convenient review of the issue and the literature, some pertinent and provocative comments (along with some oversize boners) on American diplomacy, and an insight into the foreign policy dilemma of the British Labor Party.

Strachey works from the assumption that Hobson and Lenin provided a close approximation to the actuality of their eras (1870 to 1915) and a viable generalization about the tendency of imperialism to continue onward to catastrophe. Observing that empire is now dying and leaving but few embers in the ashes, he concludes that the tendency was not in fact a law. In the next breath, however, he repeats Gunnar Myrdal's observation that the rich grow richer and vice versa. Hence he concludes—as he did in the earlier volume about Marx's law of increasing misery in domestic affairs—that vigorous action is necessary in order to prevent the same old tendency from reasserting itself in a new kind of empire.

Now this is the kind of sophisticated having-it-both-ways upon which a good many British and American intellectuals seem to pride themselves. It can fairly be called the ideological tie of their philosophical regiment. Let it be said at once that Strachey's position is neither so crass nor so crude as that of a good many who follow his analysis in one or another of its various forms. He recognizes the difficulty and confronts it squarely. "An end of the imperialist epoch is then both possible and a precondition of our survival." And he says boldly that the reason we should now help the former colonies is the simple and obvious one. They are human beings: "It is morally right."

Yet the rich continue to accumulate more wealth rapidly while the poor improve their condition slowly. The dilemma still exists. And the great merit of Strachey's volume is that he understands that colonialism (formal *or* administrative) is *not* the crucial element that defines imperialism. Hence the truth of the matter would seem to be that colonialism is ending without automatically destroying imperialism. Strachey would have made his point far more effectively if he had formulated the issue in such blunt terms.

Perhaps he would have done so if he had exploited the insight which leads him (as it did Lewis Corey a generation ago) to view America's continental expansion as the economic equivalent of European colonialism. He also comments quite accurately that it was just as ruthless. But here the point is not whether the American West was treated politically as a colony; it is rather the way in which each stage of frontier development provided the same kind of one-shot stimulus to the established metropolitan economy.

The fascinating thing about this is that American leaders saw the implications of the pattern as early as the War of 1812. And in May, 1823, John Quincy Adams explicitly explained that America did not need colonies in the Western Hemisphere: its relative economic advantage as a more developed country made them unnecessary and even bothersome. An open door for equal competition (with reciprocity treaties) would sustain the unbalanced relationship that was so favorable to the United States. And surely Strachey realizes that Cordell Hull's vigorous efforts to break into Britain's imperial preference system was merely a later manifestation of the same policy—as was Harry Dexter White's militant campaign against

the proposals advanced by Lord Keynes at the end of the war.

By thus slighting America's imperial economics, Strachey weakens his own analysis and denies himself a clue for dealing effectively with the problem of ending imperialism along with colonialism. For only the United Nations can really handle the necessary aid without sustaining the same pattern of unbalanced economic relationships between the advanced and the underdeveloped nations. It just may be, therefore, that the British Labor Party debate about nuclear weapons is the wrong argument at the wrong time. Perhaps the real issue is how to wheedle the United States into channeling its economic aid into the United Nations, and then keeping its hands off what is done with it. Men like Thomas Balogh, Paul Prebeisch, and Myrdal are quite prepared to use it effectively and equitably. An act of that character would compare in American history with the importance of Britain's decision to withdraw from India. And it just might have even more important consequences for the peace and the general welfare of the world.

The story of the colossal German blunder that made Russia a formidable world power

THE HOUSE BUILT ON SAND

The Conflicts of German Policy in Russia 1939-1945

by Gerald Reitlinger
author of *The S.S.: Alibi of a Nation*

From many unused sources, including the mass of documents produced at Nuremberg, the noted British historian has written the first detailed inside account of Hitler's disastrous Russian venture. From the Friendship Pact negotiations in 1939 he traces the vacillations of Hitler's policy, his costly quarrels with his high command, and his assumption of the personal direction of the war. The second part of this authoritative and dramatic book tells the tragic and wildly crazy story of the Russian Liberation Movement and its army. *With index, notes, bibliography, appendices, and fold-out maps.* $6.95

THE VIKING PRESS, N.Y. 22

Arab Critic

THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST, by Emil Lengyel. John Day. 376 pp. $5.75.

Reviewed by

Don Peretz

AN EXCELLENT book for Zionist groups with preconceived ideas they would not like to have disturbed, Emil Lengyel's *The Changing Middle East* confirms all of the worst suspicions held by those who are ardent critics of the Arab world, and it will no doubt give great emotional satisfaction to readers who feel that Israel is not getting a fair hearing in publications about the Middle East.

Lengyel has revealed the monstrous plots being hatched by Nasser in collaboration with Nazis and Communists to dominate the Arab East, Africa, and, if possible, the whole world. He repeats the charges about "the Hitler of the Nile" and his vicious plans to destroy the vestiges of democracy found only in Western Israel in the Middle East. Using such primary sources as *The Reporter, Fortune, Time,* the New York *Times,* and various Israeli spokesmen with access to the inner workings of the Arab world, he unfolds the diabolical schemes of Nasser and lays them bare.

Among the notions held by American Nasser haters which Lengyel fortifies are those concerning the age-old rivalry between Bagdad and Cairo; Lebanese Christian fear of Arab nationalism; and feudalism as the cause of Arab-Israel tensions.

No doubt a visitor to Bagdad in the era of Harun al-Rashid would support Lengyel's assertion about rivalry with the Nile valley, but from the time of the Mongol destruction of the ancient Arab capital until today the city has had little to offer enthusiasts other than its vague memories. During my last visit before the 1958 revolution I found that it resembled a great sprawling boom town surrounded by acres of mud hovels, producing nothing in the way of literature, art, music, or other culture. It did not even have a university. Cairo, on the other hand, has been the center of Arab culture for generations. Its press, radio, cinema, and literature have had a larger audience throughout the Arab world than those of any other capital. Actually, no substantive rivalry existed, but a synthetic political competition was created by the writings of Western observers who hoped to find in Iraq a counter weight to the independent course followed by Egypt even before Nasser.

The theory of Christian Lebanon's antagonism to Arab nationalism is another oversimplification. It is true, no doubt, that most Christians are made uneasy by the rise of an Arab nationalism which increasingly tends to identify with Islam, but there are large numbers who are as ardent Nasser supporters as can be found in the Muslim community.

Since Israel was established, many of its supporters have used the theme of "feudal opposition to the progressive Jewish State" as a means of rallying liberal support. This facile explanation of Arab nationalism overlooks the opposition of such generally progressive minded groups as the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon, the National Democrats in Iraq, and the Arab Socialists in Syria and Jordan.

The era covered is principally the last decade and the regions range from Libya to Iran, and Turkey to the sheikdoms on the Indian Ocean coast, with greatest emphasis on the Arab world. If one is looking for a volume which, as this is described in an Israeli publication, is not pro-Arab, and is uncritical of Israel, which ardent Zionists would consider fair and objective, this is it.

Benson Brickbats

THE CASE FOR FARMERS, by James G. Patton. Public Affairs Press. 62 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by

Robert G. Lewis

JIM PATTON, that authentic mixture of liberal egghead and agrarian fundamentalist, speaks up for a misunderstood client—the American farmer—in this breezy little volume. He gives a once-over-lightly treatment to the current political wrangle over farm policies from the viewpoint of an intense partisan of the farmer, gained in twenty years of fighting the family-scale farmers' battles as president of the National Farmers Union.

Patton lambastes Ezra Taft Ben-

son with lusty enthusiasm and such verbal bricks as "phony," "worse than deceptive," "less than half-truths," "political hypocrisy," and "a lot of hog wash." But he denies this is simple name-calling. As Patton puts it, "I try to be specific in criticizing Mr. Benson or be silent. The characteristics displayed by this skillful man include the following:

"Manipulation of official figures to tell a story opposite to their real meaning; the repeated assertion that things are getting better when they are not, the whirlwind speaking tour (aimed mostly at city and processor audiences, instead of dirt farmers), increased expenditures of money while preaching economy; distrust of farmer committees while loading his office with advisers who are not farmers, the pretense that politics are abhorrent while he is neck-high in partisan politics, undying faith in lower prices as the salvation of farmers already suffering low prices, setting consumers against farmers and livestock farmers against grain farmers—all accompanied by pious overtones about the 'moral fiber' of American farmers."

Anyone who has tried to cope with Benson's infuriating gift for making political buncombe, juggled statistics, and addled economic doctrine into plausible-sounding platitudes can not but say "Amen" to Patton's exceptionally harsh judgment.

Patton does not delve far beneath the counter-slogans of Benson's political opponents, however. Essentially his appeal adds up to a bigger and better revival of the Truman Administration's policies and programs in farm price supports, public power, and natural resource development.

In his brief volume, there is almost no hint of the dynamic revolution that is underway in farm technology—and the completely new order of problems it raises. There is no mention of the opportunity afforded by new farming technology, particularly if farmers can get enough capital to apply it, to cut drastically unit costs of production, nor of the problems which the unprecedented potential volume of farm output will pose.

The farm problem of the 1960's demands a new perspective, new ideas, new solutions. It is to be hoped that Jim Patton, the most imaginative and creative farm policy thinker in his generation, will not rest his case on measuring Benson's failings against "the good old days" of the 1940's, but will turn his insights soon upon "what ought to be" in the 1960's and beyond.

A Joy Forever

by Alfred Werner

As IN previous years, publications on art continue to cover a wide range. This season's harvest extends from the attractive little pocket guides, issued by Washington's National Gallery of Art, priced at fifty cents each, to the giant "Great Masters of the Past" series, published by the New York Graphic Society, at $25 each. Vol. IX, *Indian Miniatures,* is a thing of beauty. The charming illustrations, half of them in color, start with samples painted on palm-lead in the late Eleventh or early Twelfth Century, and end with a picture painted about eighty years ago and clearly influenced by Victorian photography. The carefully executed and richly hued little pictures on a large variety of subjects provide, as W. G. Archer suggests in his introduction, "an essential clue to the Indian mind."

The Pageant of Painting by D'Espezel and Fosca (Abrams. $15) is concerned with the development of painting from the Byzantines to Picasso. The compilers deserve praise for including works by artists who are not widely known, especially among the moderns (such as Friedrich, Spitzweg, Bazille, Menzel, Corinth, Leibl, Liebermann, Hodler, Vallotton, Denis, Gleizes, and Lhote), and for selecting from celebrated artists' works that have not become hackneyed by constant reproduction. The black and white illustrations are much superior to those in color, which are sometimes utterly misleading.

Leonardo da Vinci by Ludwig Goldscheider (Phaidon. $9.50) is a serious work that reproduces all of the master's paintings and many of his drawings, and contains fascinating scholarly notes on the plates. Of special interest are works attributed to him and the seven supposed portraits (none of them entirely convincing).

China's Entrance into the Family of Nations

By Immanuel C. Y. Hsü. The beginnings of China's diplomatic life and the forces which have shaped her destiny in the modern world. $5.50

Tribes of the Sahara

By Lloyd Cabot Briggs. A first-hand account of the Sahara peoples — their problems and changing way of life. $6.00

Legacy of Suppression

By Leonard W. Levy. The original meaning of the First Amendment's provision for freedom of speech and press, examining the intellectual climate that influenced its inclusion in our Constitution. A BELKNAP PRESS BOOK. $6.50

The Strategy of Conflict

By Thomas C. Schelling. An application of game theory to political and personal conflicts — and an analysis of the "moves" that can be made to resolve them. $6.25

The CIO Challenge to the AFL

By Walter Galenson. The dramatic developments between 1935 and 1941 that produced the split in the AFL and the formation of the CIO. $9.75

Bloc Politics in the United Nations

By Thomas Hovet, Jr. A complete study of voting blocs — their effect upon the UN and their implications for U. S. diplomacy. $6.50

Foch versus Clemenceau

By Jere Clemens King. Internal conflict in France, and the diplomatic maneuvers of her allies and Germany at the Versailles Conference. $4.00

The Newcomers

By Oscar Handlin. New York's gravest social problem — the situation of the Puerto Ricans and Negroes — viewed as a product of human attitudes and choices. A NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION STUDY $4.00

The May Fourth Movement

By Chow Tse-tung. The significance of the students' mass demonstration on May 4, 1919, a major turning point in China's history. $10.00

Intelligence and Democratic Action

By Frank H. Knight. The most fundamental issue facing free society today — can man, under present conditions, impose upon himself the constraints necessary for survival? $3.75

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

CLASSIFIED

BOOKS

LET ME find the books you want. Marcia Haskells, 122 S. 3rd Avenue, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

FREE History-Politics Catalog. Also locate any book you want. Flushing Books, Dept. C, 67-12 136th St., Flushing 67, N.Y.

CERAMICS

CONNOISSEURS of fine ceramics: Join the Pot of the Month Club. Write POT*MC, P.O. Box 423, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

EMPLOYMENT WANTED

LIBERAL EDITOR — PUBLICATION MANAGER whose much-quoted, thought-provoking writing inspires constructive action will be available in August. Please send for samples and details of management techniques that build profits. Box R.W.L., c/o The Progressive.

FOR SALE

PRINTED STATIONERY: 150 envelopes and 150 sheets, $3. 225 envelopes, $2. Postpaid. Samples on request. Whittier Print Shop, Springville, Iowa.

PUBLICATIONS

"THE DISTORTION OF INFORMATION," by John Kirk and George Talbot, featured article in ETC.: A Review of General Semantics. Sample copy 25 cents. Send to ETC, Dept. 42, 400 West North Avenue, Chicago 10, Ill.

THE OPEN MIND—A new, militant, and informative monthly magazine for Atheists, Freethinkers, Secularists and other open-minded people. Subscription and membership $3 per year. Book list included. The Secular Society of America, Inc., 46 Magnolia Ave., Kearny, N.J.

THE TWO FACES of Richard Nixon—by Guy W. Finney—the Big Doubt about him—Factual, Revealing! 42 pages of timely reading. 50 cents per copy—ERA BOOKS, Box 112, Tocula Sta., No. Hollywood, Calif.

THE LIBERAL. If you are a Freethinker, Rationalist or Agnostic, you will want to read this monthly magazine. 24 pages cram full of information that you will never see in the daily press. Book list, reviews, etc. $1.50 a year. Sample copy upon request. Friendship Liberal League, Inc., Box P, 5233 N. 5th St., Philadelphia 20, Pa.

THE FREE HUMANIST—a live-wire, up-to-date, free-thought magazine, 24 pages monthly. Brings you news-notes, happenings, and events in the religious field of interest to rationalists. Send 10 cents stamps or coin for sample copy. $1 per year. FREE HUMANIST, 5526 Westford Rd., Philadelphia 20, Pa.

"SEX, CENSORSHIP AND MATURING." 48-page discussion of issues raised by Professor Koch's dismissal from Illinois University. 50 cents each. SCHOOL OF LIVING, Brookville, Ohio.

SPORTING GOODS

SEND 10c for list either shotguns, handguns, rifles, ammunition, or send 25c for all lists. Frayseth's, P.O. Box 308, Willmar, Minnesota.

Quite different in character is *Leonardo da Vinci: A Pictorial Biography* by Richard Friedenthal (Studio-Viking. $6.50). Instead of art history or aesthetics, here is an attempt to assemble pictures of every object and person that Leonardo encountered during his long, restless life in Italy and France. Much space is given to Leonardo's contributions to the progress of technology and science. But the master's life is so shrouded in mystery that the author feels compelled to resort, time and again, to such cautious phrases as "it is believed" or "legend has it . . ."

Marcel Brion's *German Painting* (Universe Books. $10) will be a revelation to people who assume that German art began with Duerer and ended with Cranach the Younger a century later, only to re-emerge, in our days, with the Expressionists. Here one meets such exciting medieval religious painters as Meister Bertram, Meister Francke, and the Master of the Wittingau Altar, as well as such Baroque and Rococo men as Elsheimer, Baumgartner, and Maulpertsch. In a few paragraphs the author discusses the work of artists who have come to the fore since the last war. Unfortunately, there are several mistakes (for instance, Zoffany was born in Frankfort, not in Regensburg, and, having migrated to England as a young man, belongs entirely to British art; Liebermann died in 1935, not in 1919). The terrible impact Nazism had on German art is barely mentioned.

A new venture is the series, "The Library of Illuminated Manuscripts," edited by Walter Oakeshott (Yoseloff. $4.95 each). It includes *The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold; The Parisian Miniaturist, Honore; The Great Lambeth Bible; The Rohan Book of Hours; The Vienna Genesis;* and *An Italian Plutarch.* These slim books enable us to view leisurely the loveliest pages in old manuscripts that are kept in rare book rooms of great libraries. Each work is introduced by a specialist, and each plate is faced by a commentary, explaining iconographic and historical peculiarities.

New, too, is the "Phaidon Alpha Book" series ($3.95 each). There is no common denominator here; included are such Old Masters as *Gruenewald* and *Bosch* as well as the Nineteenth Century *Manet,* the recently deceased *Derain* and *Dufy,* and the still living *Braque.* The series can be warmly recommended to students who cannot afford the higher-priced books, for they have authoritative texts and numerous illustrations (inevitably, the majority are in black and white).

Masters of the last century have been issued, chronologically by Crown Publishers in these handsome volumes: *Renoir, Gauguin, Van Gogh,* and *Lautrec.* The compilers did not remain content with the well-known samples that nearly every child can recognize but have photographed works in private collections and in museums and galleries not often visited by American tourists. The texts are vividly written and devoid of stereotype.

Outside these groups three moderns have been presented recently. One is *Klee,* with the text by Nello Ponente (Skira. $5.75). As a child prodigy Klee displayed a marvelous gift of fantasy, which he retained to his last days. Today, everybody will agree with Ponente that Klee opened fresh vistas to mankind: "The significance of his experience transcends the limitations of time and place; it has its justification in the perennial history of humanity, whose loftiest manifestations it reflects."

Lothar-Guenther Buchheim has contributed a "pictorial biography" of *Picasso* in the same format as Friedenthal's *Leonardo* (Studio-Viking. $4.50). Whereas we know pitifully little about the Quattrocento Florentine, nearly every day in Picasso's seventy-nine years is known to us through the master's well publicized extroversion. Compared to Dali, how-

THE REVIEWERS

ROBERT LASCH is the editor of the editorial page for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. He wrote a commentary on the press, "I See by the Papers," for The Progressive for several years. ROBERT J. LAMPMAN is a professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin. WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS teaches history at the University of Wisconsin; he wrote "The Tragedy of American Diplomacy." DON PERETZ wrote "Israel and the Palestine Arabs," published by the Middle East Institute. ROBERT G. LEWIS is special agricultural coordinator for Wisconsin's Governor Gaylord A. Nelson. ALFRED WERNER is a Vienna-born art critic who has written and lectured in both the United States and Europe.

ever, he is a recluse, for Dali has exploited all avenues of publicity with a shrewdness and lack of inhibition that makes him rather than Picasso the most talked about artist of our time. Fleur Cowles' biography, *The Case of Salvador Dali* (Little, Brown. $6.50) unfortunately apes her eccentric hero by presenting, uncritically, every wisecrack attributed to him, and by pumping up his already highly inflated ego, without making any real attempt to mark out his place in the history of modern art.

To those interested in aesthetics and art history, several volumes can be recommended. *The Lamp of Beauty* (Phaidon. $6.95) contains selections from writings by John Ruskin. While few people have the energy and patience to plow through all of the thirty-eight massive volumes of his collected works, many serious students will be glad to learn what he had to say about the Renaissance masters, about Turner, the Pre-Raphaelites, Venetian architecture, art education, and similar topics, for Ruskin had a nimble and unorthodox mind.

Degas, Manet, Morisot is the twelfth volume of Paul Valery's "Collected Works in English" (Bollingen Foundation, Pantheon Books. $3.50). The most touching pages are those in which the French poet describes his meeting with the aged, crotchety, near-blind Degas who retained to the end his biting wit and gift for making unforgettably pungent statements. *Art and Illusion* by E. H. Gombrich (Pantheon. $10) is subtitled "A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation"; it contains the text of A. W. Mellon lectures the scholar delivered at Washington's National Gallery of Art. Useful paperbacks in the field are: *Approach to Greek Art*, by Charles Seltman (Dutton. $1.65); *On Art and Connoisseurship*, by Max J. Friedlaender (Beacon. $2.25); *The Dilemma of Being Modern*, by J. P. Hodin (Noonday. $1.65), and the Evergreen Gallery books ($1.95 each) on modern art.

The Sculpture of This Century by Michel Seuphor (Braziller. $15) is a comprehensive survey which includes even works by artists under thirty. As was to be expected, four-fifths of the reproduced works are non-figurative. The first section is a general introduction to sculpture in many countries, the second a biographical dictionary.

"... Did I Miss the Boat? ..."

A letter and an answer

THE LETTER:

Gus Tyler, Director
Training Institute
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
1710 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

I just read your appeal to young people in The Progressive. I wish I had read it in time. I see you have an April 15th deadline for application. I wanted to apply. I believe in the labor movement. I would like to take advantage of your year's full time training to take a position with your union. While there are many types of work I know I could handle, some of them financially rewarding, I would prefer a job with a challenge--and with a purpose. Many people of my age feel the same way. Have I missed the boat by not writing sooner?

Virginia M.....

THE ANSWER:

Dear Miss M.....

Ordinarily you would have missed the boat since our classes start in June. This year we start in September so you may still apply.

The school is open to both men and women between the ages of 21 and 35. The course is a mixture of field and classroom work, combining theory and practice. If you complete the course, you will be placed on the staff of the ILGWU to organize, handle grievances, educate, write--to make maximum uses of your talents in our large organization servicing more than 450,000 workers.

We will be accepting applications until August 1.

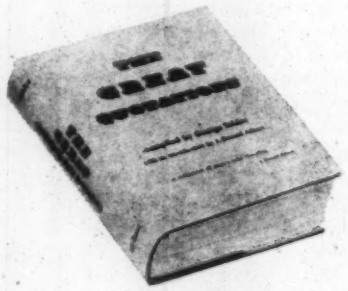
Gus Tyler, Director
ILGWU Training Institute
1710 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

A Message From George Seldes

Dear Friends and Former Readers of IN FACT:

When I wrote my hail and farewell in 1950 I hoped for new financing and a new plan of publishing, but the times were full of fear and anxiety, and now fortunately other publications are filling the void.

I have spent the best part of the decade in preparing a book which my experience with IN FACT readers taught me is a vital necessity. In my attack on censorship and suppression I had learned that even today, and even in free and democratic America, the words and ideas of great men are still feared—and still omitted—and notably in universally accepted, most popular and most familiar anthologies.



The quotations of liberals and radicals and all on the "Left" including Jefferson and Adams (in their views on politics and religion) and even conservatives such as Washington himself, are so universally omitted in books pretending to fairness and completeness, that I am forced to believe that these patriots as well as Tom Paine, and our first Freethinker-Publisher, Ethan Allen, have been deliberately censored and suppressed. I have been amazed by quotations from them, and from hundreds of others, which I have authenticated.

When it comes to Liberty (in general) and to a free press, and to non-conformity, and to dissent, and to Truth itself, the popular and familiar books of quotations are either badly done, incomplete jobs or guilty of suppression. When John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty" is omitted from a dozen editions of Bartlett over a hundred years (and is quoted for part of a page today) I must suspect the censor. And so with Milton's "Areopagitica," the world's clearest call for a free press.

From Socrates to Einstein the story is the same.

I have now collected, edited, and indexed what I believe are all the great quotations of all time. I have omitted the 80 to 90% or more of the material in the standard volumes. I do not think that I have used 5 or 6% of the quotations you will find in any other volume.

And, although I have emphasized liberty and democracy, new truth on freedom, free speech and free minds, it does not mean that I have omitted anything important, even the anti-humanitarians, the dictators, tyrants, authors of terror and genocide. My one test has been greatness. There has been no moral—or any other form of censorship.

From the more than 100,000 letters I received from IN FACT readers I have a feeling you will value this book as much as I do.

I think it is the best contribution I have made in my lifetime.

Cordially yours,

GEORGE SELDES

NOW . . . after two decades of research . . . and two years of production . . . THE GREAT QUOTATIONS is ready for shipment!

This inspiring volume is a reference work second to none. J. Donald Adams in his introduction calls it ". . . a collection of man's best thinking . . ."

We believe it is one of the most important books of our time. No liberal or radical should be without one.

This handsome volume is 912 pages . . . bound in buckram . . . stamped in gold.

THE PRICE: $15 POSTPAID

To order your copy and have it shipped by return mail please use the coupon below.

LYLE STUART publisher PR
225 Lafayette Street, New York 12, N.Y.

Enclosed is my check or money order in the amount of $15* for a pre-publication copy of George Seldes' THE GREAT QUOTATIONS which I understand you will ship to me postpaid by return mail.

MY NAME_____
(Please Print)

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE____

*New York City residents please add 45c sales tax.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS INC
313 N 1ST ST
ANN ARBOR MICH
L277
T183 OH